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US Air Express
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LINUS PAULING FACES JAIL

Refuses to reveal names in

Bomb-test petition

by CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

Factory campaigns at H-bomber works

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DEMONSTRATORS picketed and leafleted the works of Bristol Siddeley Engines and Bristol Aircraft Ltd. in Bristol daily from July 11-16 in the first week of the industrial campaign organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

The industrial campaign is being operated at a number of firms which make components for Britain's H-bomber force.

Informal open-air meetings have developed at Bristol Aircraft works' gates which have become "a miniature Hyde Park Speakers' Corner" the campaign organiser told *Peace News* on Monday. Demonstrators have been involved in lunch-hour discussions with the workers. The week's activities were wound up by a poster parade through the town last Saturday.

Leafleting and canvassing has been done in Filton and Clifton near Bristol and in the local pubs. One hundred people have signed a petition to the Bristol Aircraft management urging them to convert the firm to peaceful uses.

A final rally of the campaign on September 3 is being organised by the Bristol Peace Council. The Bristol Trades Council has agreed to delegate two members to sit on the planning committee of the rally.



FALL-OUT FROM THE FIRST SUPER-BOMB EXPLOSION—AT BIKINI IN 1954—COVERED 7,000 SQUARE MILES OF THE PACIFIC. THREE HUNDRED SUCH BOMBS WOULD KILL EVERYONE IN THE UNITED STATES AND 4,000 WOULD DESTROY EVERYONE ON EARTH.

Facts such as these, complete with sources and explanations, poured from Dr. Linus Pauling, the American scientist and Nobel Prize winner, when he spoke in London last Sunday evening.

A triple-stage super-bomb equivalent to 20,000,000 tons of TNT can flatten 400 square miles. The fire ball is four miles across with a temperature that of the sun. In the 7,000 square mile area 30 times enough fall-out is released to kill each person. Material for such weapons is comparatively cheap at \$21,000 per bomb.

The United States' stockpile of all types of nuclear weapons contains about 100,000 bombs; that of the Russians possibly half that. Britain's stockpile probably isn't large enough yet to destroy all life on the planet.

Carbon-14 from nuclear tests already conducted will cause in the future—if mankind survives—between 1,500,000 and 3,000,000 children to be congenitally defective. The Bikini test alone added 15,000 such births.

The world military budget is the equivalent of the income of two-thirds

—'we' being the people of all nations.

"The only solution that I can see is that we give up war."

Nobody, he added, had paid much attention to Einstein ten years earlier when he had come to that conclusion. Now that the weapons were 1,000 times more powerful, however, people were beginning to listen.

At the end of his speech—on "Why the World Must Achieve Total Disarmament"—to a crowded St. Pancras Town Hall, Professor Pauling received a standing ovation.

The meeting was organised by the British Peace Committee, section of the World Peace Council. At a press conference earlier Dr. Pauling had explained that he speaks on any platform, makes no enquiries about its programme and always says much the same thing. He is a multilateralist, he insists, and has never urged unilateral

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A final rally of the campaign on September 3 is being organised by the Bristol Peace Council. The Bristol Trades Council has agreed to delegate two members to sit on the planning committee of the rally.

The local Plumbers' Trade Union branch has agreed to support the campaign at Bristol Aircraft Ltd., where shop stewards have agreed to put before the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee suggestions for the conversion of the factory to peaceful work. The Committee will also consider organising a factory gate meeting to be addressed by campaigners.

As a result of meetings with Amalgamated Engineering Union shop stewards at the Bristol Siddeley Engines works the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee has agreed to circulate notices of factory gate meetings organised by the campaign. The majority of trade unionists met by campaigners so far have been sympathetic. The agents for the Bristol and South Gloucester Labour Parties have supplied addresses of constituency party secretaries.

Other campaigns

In Surrey supporters of the campaign are picketing Vickers-Armstrongs (Aircraft) factory in Weybridge and A. V. Roe Guided Weapons Establishment in Chertsey. Activity at the moment is concentrated on visiting trade union branches to enlist their support.

Similar campaigns begin in Manchester and Slough on August 8 and September 3 respectively. Enquiries should be addressed to the Direct Action Committee, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STA. 7062.)

CHEYROUSE FASTS AGAIN

In France, Henri Cheyrouse, who was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment last March for refusing military service, started his fourth fast on July 5. *Peace News* reported on June 4 that he was in the Val-de Grace prison hospital in Paris.



At Bristol aircraft works.

Photo: Bristol Evening Post

Russians speed-up missile programme

Peace News Reporter

RUSSIA now has ten fully operative long-range missile bases inside Soviet territory ready for firing 6,000-mile inter-continental missiles with H-bomb warheads.

In addition, the USSR has 30 other bases for intermediate-range missiles capable of reaching targets 1,500 miles away.

This information is contained in Western "intelligence" reports released in Bonn last Saturday and believed to be based on aerial reconnaissance.

Details given indicate that, in all, about 200,000 people are engaged in operating a total of 100 Soviet missile bases of all types.

Four of the medium-range rocket bases in the Arctic are said to be directed at targets in Britain and Scandinavia.

Most of these bases are in the neighbourhood of the Barents Sea and the Kola Peninsula—where the US RB-47 reconnaissance aircraft was shot down on July 1.

In all, 22 of the medium-range missile bases are directed at targets in Western Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, while

The United States' stockpile of all types of nuclear weapons contains about 100,000 bombs; that of the Russians possibly half that. Britain's stockpile probably isn't large enough yet to destroy all life on the planet.

Carbon-14 from nuclear tests already conducted will cause in the future—if mankind survives—between 1,500,000 and 3,000,000 children to be congenitally defective. The Bikini test alone added 15,000 such births.

The world military budget is the equivalent of the income of two-thirds—the lowest paid two-thirds—of the world.

"We are in greater danger," said Professor Pauling, "than ever before

were beginning to listen.

At the end of his speech—on "Why the World Must Achieve Total Disarmament"—to a crowded St. Pancras Town Hall, Professor Pauling received a standing ovation.

The meeting was organised by the British Peace Committee, section of the World Peace Council. At a press conference earlier Dr. Pauling had explained that he speaks on any platform, makes no enquiries about its programme and always says much the same thing. He is a multilateralist, he insists, and has never urged unilateral action by any Power. Indeed, such action by Russia or America could be very dangerous.

Mass petition

In 1957 Dr. Pauling organised a mass petition to the United Nations of 11,021 scientists from 49 countries urging an international ban on nuclear tests. For this he has been subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He intends to appear ("I am an educator and I don't mind educating the Senate on nuclear war") but he refuses to divulge the names of people who helped to circulate the petition. For this refusal he could be sentenced to a maximum of 12 months' prison and \$1,000 fine.

In his defence he will be appealing to the First Amendment which is meant to guarantee freedom of speech, the right to petition the Government, etc. About ten Americans are currently

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GANDHIGRAM

Horace Alexander
describes the Indian
venue of the WRI's
December conference
page ten

CLASSIFIED

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IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op., please give this number when making your next purchase: L336943. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

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Congo: Facts behind the revolt

By **FENNER BROCKWAY, MP** *Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*



WHAT will happen in the Congo is unpredictable. Necessarily this article is written some days before it is published. But there are certain fundamental things which one can say whatever occurs.

It is argued that the violence and chaos prove that the speed towards independence in Africa is too rapid. On the contrary, I think the depth of feeling between the Africans and Belgians shows that the conflict would have been far worse had the right to independence not been recognised.

The relationship between Africans and Brussels, between Africans and many Belgians in the Congo, improved as soon as independence was agreed. The reception to the Belgian King in Leopoldville and the invitation voiced by Mr. Lumumba to Belgians to stay in the Congo demonstrated this. If independence had been refused the violence arising from the accumulated frustration would almost certainly have become catastrophic.

This frustration had been built up over a long time. The cruelties in the rubber plantations 50 years ago, so passionately exposed by E. D. Morel in his *RED RUBBER*, left a cancer of hatred.

Ever since then the African population has been treated as an inferior race. There has been in the Congo the psychology of slavery.

Sometimes the material conditions have been comparatively good as they were sometimes under benevolent masters in the days of chattel slavery. But the Africans were allowed no rights. They were treated as a subordinate race to be governed in every sphere by the White Occupation—in their communities, in industry, in the army, and of course, in all political administration. Only in the last three years were they given the right to a vote and a voice even in local administration in African urban areas.

serve, but the psychology was such that the Africans were not prepared to accept orders from those who had acted as their lords and masters.

Only a month before independence African soldiers had been ordered to disperse by force a meeting which Mr. Lumumba was addressing. The soldiers obeyed the request of the man who is now **Prime Minister** to leave rather than the command of their Belgian officer.

This psychological reaction to Belgian domination was aggravated by the revolt against the newly elected Congo Government stimulated by the European industrialists of the rich Katanga province. There were tribal sentiments on which they could play. The Belgian Congo was an artificial political unit held together by the Belgian occupation.

Uninfluenced by outside elements, a basis of autonomy within a federal republic would probably have been found; only a few days before declaring Katanga an independent state, Mr. Tshombe denied that he wished to break from the Republic. But the monopolists of the Union Miniere, who had previously suggested to Sir Roy Welensky that Katanga should be amalgamated to the Rhodesias, exerted their powerful influence with the support of the Belgian armed forces still in control.

This event illustrates the dominant influence of European industrialism which we sometimes underestimate. The move to separate the Katanga from the Congo Republic and to link it with British-controlled Africa is easier to understand when it is realised that 35 per cent of the Union Miniere shares are owned by the Tanganyika Concessions,

whose British chairman is also a director of the Union Miniere. The coalition between the industrialists and Mr. Tshombe is not unnatural since the Belgian Government controls 20 per cent of the shares of the Union Miniere, which will pass to the Katanga Government if its independence is recognised.

The most hopeful feature of the situation is the implementations, in part at least, of the resolution carried by the United Nations Security Council calling for the withdrawal of the Belgian troops and their replacement by United Nations forces. To Britain's shame our delegate abstained in the disreputable company of France and Formosa (which has the arrogance to vote for China). We must be on the alert lest British troops go to Stanleyville. There are strong White elements in East and Central Africa which would welcome this.

It was fortunate that Dr. Ralph Bunche, the Negro assistant secretary of the United Nations, was in the Congo. It has been supremely wise to man the UN forces largely by Africans, following the lead given by Tunisia and Ghana.

The United Nations should not only co-operate with the Congo Republic in restoring peace. The services of Dr. Bunche should be made available to help resolve the problem of Katanga and of Kasai and Kivu which are being encouraged by diamond interests to break away.

The sympathy of all Africa (need I mention the reactionary minority?) and of all supporters of Africa throughout the world are with the Congo Republic. Our influence must everywhere be exerted to give it the opportunity to become great and harmonious, untrammelled by the vested interests of the colonial era.

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Service 3.30. Sunday, July 24

Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross

Discourse — **Stuart Morris**
"Non-Resistance"

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has been in the Congo since the end of slavery.

Sometimes the material conditions have been comparatively good as they were sometimes under benevolent masters in the days of chattel slavery. But the Africans were allowed no rights. They were treated as a subordinate race to be governed in every sphere by the White Occupation—in their communities, in industry, in the army, and of course, in all political administration. Only in the last three years were they given the right to a vote and a voice even in local administration in African urban areas.

In the climate of African self-expression which has spread throughout the Continent the psychological conflict between Africans and Belgians under these conditions can be understood. It was the psychology of resistance movements to Nazi occupation, in France, Holland and Belgium itself during the war.

The Belgian Government in Brussels was compelled to recognise the disaster of violence which threatened. They promised independence in three years. They had to bring independence forward to this year.

The breaking point was understood by the thousands of Belgians who fled from the Congo before independence. They anticipated that the volcano of frustration which their occupation had created would erupt. The reports of assaults and rapings brought despair to many of us and our sympathy went to the victims, but these were the inevitable result of what preceded.

It is hypocrisy to suggest that this is just African physical indiscipline. Unhappily, such atrocities always occur when violence and anger are let loose. I was in Germany after the war and the same assaults took place when the troops swept in. And if we are honest we must acknowledge that the history of the White occupation of Africa is smeared by similar violations.

The administrative chaos in the Congo was the consequence of Belgium's failure to give Africans the opportunity to hold any post of even minor responsibility. In both the civil and military services no African had been more than a clerk or a sergeant-major. It would have been better if a core of Belgians who accepted the new status of Congo independence had continued to

operated with the Congo Republic in restoring peace. The services of Dr. Bunche should be made available to help resolve the problem of Katanga and of Kasai and Kivu which are being encouraged by diamond interests to break away.

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Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, July 22

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. London Local Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Public Meeting: "The Congo—What Next." Speakers include Dr. Hastings Banda, John Stonehouse, MP. Chairman: Fenner Brockway, MP. MCF.

Saturday, July 23

ADDLESTONE, Surrey: 2.30 p.m. Co-op. Hall. Summer Sale. Walton and Weybridge CND.

LEWES: 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. Stuart Morris. S.E. Area PPU.

LEWES: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk. "Any Questions." Hilda von Klenze, Stuart Morris. Question Master—Rev. Basil Viney. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 2.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Leytonstone. Garden Fayre. Admn. 6d. S.W. Essex YCND.

LONDON, S.E.24: 3—6 p.m. Mrs. Hunter's, 210 Herne Hill Rd. Memorial Service for Alec Harris. Business meeting. Rowland Philcox. "Marxism." Buses 68, 196 to Red Post Hill. Universal Religion—Pacifist Fellowship

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SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello or Golborne Rd. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

LONDON, N.W.3: 11.30 a.m. Whitestone Pond. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

operate with the Congo Republic in restoring peace. The services of Dr. Bunche should be made available to help resolve the problem of Katanga and of Kasai and Kivu which are being encouraged by diamond interests to break away.

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LONDON, S.W.12: 2.30 p.m. Jumble sale. St. Lukes Church Hall, Ramsden Grove, Balham. Battersea CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Piano Recital by Catherine Hey in aid of Algerian refugee orphans. IVS.

Sunday, July 24

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. Stuart Morris, "Non-Resistance." Universal Religion—Pacifist Fellowship.

LONDON, S.W.12: 8 p.m. Film show. Studio Theatre, 12 Balham Pk. Rd. Battersea and Clapham CND.

Monday, July 25

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Br., Ho., Ebury Bridge Road. London Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

Tuesday, July 26

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Thursday, July 28

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Group Discussion. Leytonstone PPU.

Friday, July 29

DONCASTER: Briefing Meeting for direct action demonstration at Finningley. Details from Mary Kingsleben, 24 Regent Pk. Terr., Leeds 6.

Saturday, July 30

FINNINGLEY: 12 noon. non-violent direct action demonstration against RAF H-Bomber Base. Northern Direct Action Committee.

FINNINGLEY: Supporting Protest March. 12.30 p.m. Finningley Camp Gates. 3.15 p.m. Plough Inn, Armthorpe. 4.30 p.m. Junction of Town Moor Ave. and Thorne Rd. 5.45 p.m. Public Mtg., Fourth Enclosure, Doncaster Race Course. Yorkshire Region CND.

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m. 86 Ainsdale Rd. Meeting. Western Park Group PPU.

Saturday, July 30—Friday, Aug. 5

OXFORD: Lady Margaret Hall. Oxfam Conference. Speakers: Arnold Toynbee, Lord Boyd Orr, Dr. Boris Uvarov. Details from 17 Broad St., Oxford.

Thursday, August 4

LONDON, S.E.18: 8 p.m. 16 Beresford Sq., Woolwich. Ronald Mallone, "The Challenge of the Fellowship: Party to War." Woolwich CND.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

Demonstration provokes demonstration

CND AT CD EXERCISE

SUPPORTERS of the London Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament carried out a counter demonstration recently at Temple Mills Road and Hackney Marshes when a London County Council Civil Defence exercise under "fall-out" conditions was staged at "Bully Fen."

About 50 demonstrators paraded with banners in front of the enclosure, whilst a loudspeaker car manned by George Clark, London Region CND chairman, went up and down addressing the CD workers.

Although no one was allowed through the entrance gate to the "Fen" youth group members went over the wire at the rear and came out of the main gate several times. Police guards did not object.

The exercise consisted of two bonfires which represented the fireball of an H-bomb which had caused five casualties. At 9 p.m. two of these were still unfound, and being dug for, the three others having been dealt with. The CD dispatch rider who rode unscathed several times through radiation and fall-out unprotected was congratulated on each occasion by Mr. Clark through his loudhailer.

A MIXED BAG

THAT part of the postman's bag which contains correspondence about the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund often provides interesting reading. One letter recently suggested that I ought not to have to spend time and thought on appealing for money, and that by giving regular subscriptions members ought to make constant appeals unnecessary. But the writer did kindly enclose a birthday present. It would, of course, be more satisfactory in many ways if we had a list of voluntary annual subscribers large enough to make other appeals unnecessary. If you are not a subscriber we invite you to become so here and now, and will send you the appropriate form on request.



'Stop the marching desert' appeal to de Gaulle

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

FROM his home in New Zealand, Richard St. Barbe Baker has released the text of a letter in which he has urged General de Gaulle to enlist the support of the world for Sahara reclamation instead of "further desecrating the Sahara with more explosions."

The discovery in the Sahara by French scientists of the Intercalary Continental Aquifer, a subterranean lake over 150 miles long and from 50 to 150 miles wide, makes it possible to rehabilitate 100 million people in the area, Richard St. Barbe Baker, founder of Men of the Trees, reminds General de Gaulle.

The letter warns of the relentless march of the Sahara; a challenge not only to the people of France and her colonies, but to every human being.

"To stop it and push it back along a 20,000 mile front may require 20 million workers. That would be an army equal to the present standing armies of all the nations of the world, for the Sahara is the largest desert in the world. It covers an area bigger than the United States and it is relentlessly advancing, year by year, month by month, hour by hour.

"As you are fully aware the great weapon in this battle against the desert is trees. Trees will hold the sands and keep them from drifting; trees will produce the life-giving humus and clothe the bare rocks; trees will precipitate moisture for they are an essential link in the water cycle; trees will produce shelter, fuel and food."

MILLIONS OF ACRES LOST

Speaking on this subject in New Zealand last month, Richard St. Barbe Baker warned that all the deserts of the world were on the march. Millions of acres of rich farm lands were being lost as the result of the wholesale destruction of trees and forests.

He appealed for a World Tree Planting Year and expressed the hope that such a proposal would be taken up by the Fifth World Forestry Congress.

A World Tree Planting Year would not be just a matter of ceremonial planting, but of large-scale afforestation, with extensive and intensive study of the latest scientific

and in the USA restore the dying soils of Arizona, Utah, Nevada and the Californian deserts.

Another important gain would be the lifting of the world's water tables. A fast approaching water shortage would cause civilised countries to become dependent upon de-salting of sea water, a problem on which governments are already believed to be spending thousands of millions of pounds in research for a solution.

It was, on June 22, 38 years ago, that Richard St. Barbe Baker launched his "Men of the Trees" movement from a camp in Kenya.

Finningley protest



Three members of the Northern Direct Action Committee (left to right: John Cartwright, Mary Ringsleben and Carol Taylor) with the Operation Finningley banner which

PEACE NEWS, July 22, 1960—3

By Sybil Morrison

PEACE LOCK-OUT

The switch is simply marked "War" and "Peace." Keys to the control panel hang round the neck of an American colonel. When they have been inserted and turned the first step has been taken to launch a Thor rocket with an atomic warhead. A second set of keys has to be inserted by an RAF officer.—*The Sunday Times*, July 17, 1960.

IT is often said that in this nuclear age the fate of the world is in the hands of only a few people; that a button can be pressed inadvertently and that war can be started by mistake.

According to *The Sunday Times* front page article entitled "Keys to the Destiny of the World" the launching of atomic warhead rockets can only take place if two keys, held by two separate persons, are inserted in a lock at the same time. These persons can only receive their orders to insert and turn the keys marked "War" from the President of the USA and the British Prime Minister.

What happens if the orders are to turn the key of Peace is not mentioned. Perhaps the lock stands ready at "Peace" until it is turned to "War," in which case the present conditions of tension, threats, building up of nuclear weapons, and the "cold war" is apparently to be designated as "Peace!"



It is this misunderstanding of what is really meant by the word that is at the root of a great deal of useless argument and baffling answers, not only in the House of Commons, but among ordinary people asking for some assurance for the future.

It is not "security" to be poised always upon the brink of an abyss; it is not "peace" to be standing always upon the edge of war. Peace cannot have as its foundations arsenals of rockets, bombs and ballistic missiles; it can only have as its basis humanity, integrity, tolerance and goodwill. No rocket in the world can be made up of such constituents.

Headquarters Fund often provides interesting reading. One letter recently suggested that I ought not to have to spend time and thought on appealing for money, and that by giving regular subscriptions members ought to make constant appeals unnecessary. But the writer did kindly enclose a birthday present. It would, of course, be more satisfactory in many ways if we had a list of voluntary annual subscribers large enough to make other appeals unnecessary. If you are not a subscriber we invite you to become so here and now, and will send you the appropriate form on request.

But there are some members who are reluctant to make even a provisional promise of a regular yearly sum, and prefer to give in response to the PPU's Annual Appeal. Nevertheless, if all non-subscribers responded to the Annual Appeal we should not have to rely on Headquarters Fund. And, by the way, have you put your response to the Annual Appeal in the post-bag yet?

As it is these fortnightly appeals serve as a reminder or strike a special chord. One member sends in a substantial sum about four times a year as he saves up to help the PPU. Several old age pensioners put many of us to shame with the 10s, they send out of their very limited income. Others send a gift to commemorate an anniversary or in memory of a friend. Have you any anniversary this month?

From time to time one of our old friends sends a cheque for £5 or £10 as recently. And then again suddenly and unexpectedly out of the blue will come a gift like the cheque for £150 which arrived this week from someone who though not a member admires the work we are doing. And that made the sun shine on a murky day!

But will it prompt you to respond? I do hope so, because we must not let HQ Fund get behind again now that we have reached halfway to our aim for the year.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year £1,250.
Total to date £612.

With thanks to you all and the post-man!

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



MILLIONS OF ACRES LOST

Speaking on this subject in New Zealand last month, Richard St. Barbe Baker warned that all the deserts of the world were on the march. Millions of acres of rich farm lands were being lost as the result of the wholesale destruction of trees and forests.

He appealed for a World Tree Planting Year and expressed the hope that such a proposal would be taken up by the Fifth World Forestry Congress.

A World Tree Planting Year would not be just a matter of ceremonial planting, but of large-scale afforestation, with extensive and intensive study of the latest scientific methods of land reclamation by tree planting.

Such a programme, *Peace News* was told by Mr. A. R. Heaver, Editor of *Trees and Life*, would greatly increase the wealth of China through Gobi Desert afforestation.

No sign of our 'very own bomb'

THE collapse of the summit talks rubs home three lessons which the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has always sought to teach, says the June CND Bulletin:

1. The nuclear arms race, along with the lunacies which it entails, including the U-2 flights—is itself a prime cause of distrust and tension and a barrier to fruitful negotiation.

2. Talks for their own sake are of no use without a fresh approach; a realisation that war is impossible and agreement imperative; and consequently advance thinking on possibilities of compromise. For, had the summit talks not broken down, they would probably have ended only in an exchange of platitudes.

3. Until Britain, by renouncing the Bomb, recovers her political independence, she can have only a walk-on part at these functions. There was no sign in Paris of the influence—either over America or Russia—which our "very own Bomb" is supposed to have earned for us."

The Bulletin is published monthly (5s. a year from 2 Carthusian Street, London, E.C.1.)



Three members of the Northern Direct Action Committee (left to right: John Cartwright, Mary Ringsleben and Carol Taylor) with the Operation Finningley banner which will be carried by demonstrators on the next direct action demonstration at Finningley H-bomber base near Doncaster on July 30. The Yorkshire Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is to march from Finningley to Doncaster in a supporting demonstration. Address of the Northern Direct Action Committee secretary, Mary Ringsleben, is 24 Regent Park Terrace, Leeds 6.

Philippine Government gets 'end tests' call

A RESOLUTION urging the Philippine Government to work for disarmament and the banning of further nuclear tests has been adopted in Manila by a committee of the Philippine Federation of Christian Churches (Protestant).

Addressed to President Carlos P. Garcia, the resolution said that war is "diametrically opposed to Jesus' teaching of love, friendship and reconciliation."

It pointed out, reports *The Churchman*, that war is renounced in the Philippine constitution as an instrument of national policy and also that the World Council of Churches, of which the Federation is an affiliate, has also voiced its opposition to war and nuclear tests.

The resolution came in the midst of a controversy in Government circles over the stationing of nuclear weapons in the Philippines.

It is this misunderstanding of what is really meant by the word that is at the root of a great deal of useless argument and baffling answers, not only in the House of Commons, but among ordinary people asking for some assurance for the future.

It is not "security" to be poised always upon the brink of an abyss; it is not "peace" to be standing always upon the edge of war. Peace cannot have as its foundations arsenals of rockets, bombs and ballistic missiles; it can only have as its basis humanity, integrity, tolerance and goodwill. No rocket in the world can be made up of such constituents.

It is nothing new that the final decision is taken by the heads of states for that, has always been so; nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that even the heads of states must sometimes bow to the wind of public demand. The Prime Minister cannot give the word to turn the key to "War" if the country is shouting for "Peace"; but it is futile to shout for "Peace" unless it is fully understood what this means.

It does not mean blustering at the Conference table, demanding pledges from others and not giving any, nor does it mean asking for agreement on control and inspection of masses of armaments; it means establishing trust by unilateral action. It does not mean holding the so-called "deterrent" as a threat; it means pulling out the key marked "War" and throwing it away.

The military officers entrusted with the keys are no doubt chosen for their lack of imagination, and ability to take orders without question, whether it be to turn on the gas in the gas chamber, or turn on the tap of total destruction.

If the people of this country who are so shocked by the slaughter of the gas chambers could realise that the mentality of those conditioned to carry out such orders without question is an absolute essential in modern war, they would perhaps be ready to demand that the keys of war be removed from the lock and the lock be destroyed for all time.

Men playing with little keys, not bigger than ordinary car keys, and deceiving themselves and the world that some kind of safety for the human race lies in the fact that it requires two to launch the holocaust would seem to have lost their reason.

It is for ordinary people with ordinary common sense to shout for the lock-out of War, instead of meekly accepting the lock-out of Peace.

UN in the Congo

IT is difficult, at the time of writing, to make any useful comment on what is happening in the Congo. When events and motives are so obscure it is impossible to see even a short way ahead. Everything is unstable, and a bewildering struggle is going on between forces trying to consolidate themselves, manœuvring for the strongest possible position.

One thing that is clearly worth watching is the rôle of the United Nations. The mixed African force (from Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tunisia) sent to the Congo last weekend by Mr. Hammarskjöld on the authority of the Security Council is a notable development of the principle of a UN "presence" in disturbed areas. How it will act is anyone's guess, particularly in dealing with the dangerous problems raised by the secession of Katanga. But whether it succeeds or fails, whether we agree with the way it acts or not, we are witnessing a real attempt to create an international police force.

Much discussion in the past about such a force has assumed that it would have to be a kind of military superpower, a world-wide NATO in which the top jobs would be shared out between Marshal Malinowski and Generals Norstad and Li Chih-min. Such a prospect has never been convincing, and anyhow it isn't the way a police force works. As Mr. Charles Reith puts it (he is an authority on the history of the British police), "The power and strength of the police lies neither in the military arm nor in the law. It is almost wholly public approval of their behaviour, and without it neither law nor troops could save them from helplessness." The British police was created in the early nineteenth century precisely because the military was *unable* to enforce the law. Military action will evidently not enforce law in the Congo, although it can certainly destroy the country. How much chance has police action?

The essential feature of the UN force is that it shall clearly be seen to stand for an order which is not absolutely intolerable to anyone, and which therefore stands some chance of securing everyone's co-operation. Mr. Hammarskjöld showed his usual good sense in sending an all-African force in the first place, and in consultation with representatives of independent African states, from Liberia to the United Arab Republic. This was some guarantee that intervention was by parties directly interested in keeping the Congo independent and united, and hence made the force at least initially acceptable to the Congolese. The fact that the force is intended to stop rioting meets the legitimate desire of the Belgians to protect the safety of White people. Reports coming in on Monday suggested that the acting chief of the UN force, General Alexander of Chene, had had some

COMMENTARY

by

Geoffrey Carnall

advised the UN force to take over the arms, if they were landed. The Belgian authorities have asserted that to land arms under any circumstances would be an act of war.

No one can predict whether the stresses caused by tribal suspicion, commercial intrigue, and sheer panic and despair will prove too much for the UN. But a fair beginning has been made, and it is welcome news that neutral countries from other continents are to join the UN force. The creative function of the neutral nations in establishing a world order free from war is becoming steadily clearer. It is unfortunate that the resources available for this work are, compared with the arms build-up, so small. This is perhaps the most pressing argument for Britain's leaving NATO. There is a job to be done, and we could help. But not as an American satellite.

Mr. K accuses

MR. KHRUSHCHEV has accused the Western Powers generally of supporting Belgian intervention to reduce the Congo once again to a colonial status. Congolese independence has certainly never been acceptable to Belgian public opinion, and the decision to quit was a yielding to necessity rather than a part of any long-term plan. Now the attempt to cut off Katanga, the wealthiest province of the Congo, will present the Belgians with a very strong temptation to safeguard their own economic interests at the expense of the new republic's.

So far, however, the behaviour of the USA and Britain appears to have been quite correct. In particular, the Central African Federation was discreetly snubbed when it was suggested that Federation troops might intervene in Katanga. Mr. Khrushchev may have inside information, but, judging from his press conference of July 12, it seems more likely that he was applying Marxist principles intuitively. Or perhaps, as he shrewdly said of US fears that Russia was planning bases in Cuba, "a mother-in-law who is herself unfaithful always finds it difficult to believe in the virtue of her daughter-in-law."

'Deterrent' exercises

ONE can understand why Mr. Lumumba, like Dr. Castro, should appeal to the Soviet Union for help. Russia seems a long way off, and is nonetheless a useful counterweight to opponents near at hand. The approach is the same in principle as Colonel Nasser's some years

ago. In most parts of the world, it is only to hold the ring, to prevent foul play. It is an exercise in the great deterrent.

The trouble is that these disinterested warnings have reactions on the general political atmosphere. Much of the potential danger of the present situation comes from sheer nervousness. If the nervousness could translate itself into an all-out drive for disarmament, that would be most satisfactory. But when it only reinforces a determination to keep "strong," it is quite likely to cause irrational behaviour. No rational person would start World War III. But then, as all problem families know, we are not at our best when other people get on our nerves.

The *News Chronicle* recently reminded its readers of Dr. Harrison Matthews' theory about the stresses which result from over-population, when overcrowding denies each animal the undisturbed enjoyment of its necessary private territory, and there is continual bickering as the animals try to keep intruders at the minimum tolerable distance. The *Chronicle's* report was about stress diseases in zoo animals, but the relevance to the great zoo of the world was plain enough amid the news of intense reactions and counter-reactions to the new spy-plane incident.

If one could believe that these Great Power moves were really Machiavellian strokes of policy it wouldn't be so bad. But one has a suspicion that Mr. Khrushchev may well be trying to prove to General Li Chih-min that he is not, as the General hinted recently, frightened out of his wits and his militancy by the imperialistic blackmail of nuclear war. He may convince General Li, but he will also convince General Li's counterparts in the Pentagon that they are right to insist on "a tough line with the Reds."

A test ban?

THE importance of keeping the militants under control is underlined by the delicate state of the negotiations at Geneva on nuclear tests. *Peace News* readers should not allow the dramatic events in the Congo to divert their attention altogether from these talks, for the next few days may be decisive, and it is of the utmost importance that public opinion should realise what is going on.

Last week the US made two important proposals which went some way to meeting the Russians. One proposal conceded a limit on the number of inspections of "suspicious events." The other in effect conceded full inspection of the nuclear devices to be used in the proposed series of underground tests, needed for research into detecting the difference between explosions and earthquakes. So far, so good. But this victory for those who really want a test ban has clearly been allowed only with great reluctance. Warnings have been uttered that this will be the crucial test of Russian intentions. According to John W. Finney of the *New York Times*, if the Soviet Union rejects this offer, "the effect will be to strengthen a belief within the Administration that the Soviet Union is unwilling to enter into a test-ban agreement, with

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Central African Federation was discreetly snubbed when it was suggested that Federation troops might intervene in Katanga. Mr. Khrushchev may have inside information, but, judging from his press conference of July 12, it seems more likely that he was applying Marxist principles intuitively. Or perhaps, as he shrewdly said of US fears that Russia was planning bases in Cuba, "a mother-in-law who is herself unfaithful always finds it difficult to believe in the virtue of her daughter-in-law."

'Deterrent' exercises

ONE can understand why Mr. Lumumba, like Dr. Castro, should appeal to the Soviet Union for help. Russia seems a long way off, and is nonetheless a useful counterweight to opponents near at hand. The approach is the same in principle as Colonel Nasser's some years ago. Colonel Nasser, however, is a much more experienced politician than Mr. Lumumba, and Mr. Lumumba is anyhow in a much weaker position. Mr. Khrushchev, however, insists that Russia has no sinister intentions, and merely recognises the right of all countries to act as they think fit, for the benefit of their own peoples. "We support all who fight against imperialism for happiness, freedom and independence." If he sends reminders to the US and others that Russian rockets can hit targets in

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It is in this spirit of ultimatum that the US formally announced its intention of carrying out 11 test explosions during the next two years. The timing of this announcement could hardly be worse. One can only hope that the Russians will have the sense to make a generous response to the American proposal.

Old soldiers never die

FINAL plans for creating a NATO missile testing and training range at Suda, in north-western Crete, were under discussion in Athens last week.

The talks were between the Greek Defence Ministry and General Van Fleet, former chief of the US military mission to Greece.

General Van Fleet, who has retired, is now vice-president of an American firm specialising in building missile launching sites. His firm recently did similar work in Turkey.

More tests

A US Defence Department document, published on Sunday by the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee, said that 11 small underground nuclear explosions are planned for the next two years. There will also be 21 conventional explosions.

The programme during the fiscal year 1961 will cost \$65,840,000 (about £23,000,000), including more than \$40,000,000 (about £14,000,000) for the actual explosions.

La grandeur (cont).

THE French military "programme law" to be put before Parliament provides for vastly increased expenditure on atomic plants, rockets and aircraft.

Informed sources quoted by *The Times* Paris correspondent say that the new law is expected to provide for the expenditure of nearly 12,000,000,000 NF (nearly £900,000,000) over the years 1960-1965. About half this is to be spent on the nuclear striking force.

The "programme law" is only a rough skeleton of plans; expenditure foreseen under it will probably be only about one-seventh of the total military budget.

Creating bad blood

IN the South African Supreme Court on July 12 Mr. Justice Hill set aside a decision of the Race Classification Appeals Board and ruled that a woman classified by

the population registrar as "native" be classified as "coloured."

The woman had disputed her classification and said that her family was already being divided and would be gravely prejudiced by future differential race classification.

She is the daughter of a coloured father and native mother. One of her children, she said, had been classified as coloured and two as native. Five others had not yet been classified.

Ostriches, not hares

CIVIL Defence expenditure in Cyprus since 1956 has been £223,000, the Colonial Secretary told Emrys Hughes, MP, in the House of Commons on July 7.

The Minister was "sure" that there were no proposals for the evacuation of the civil population from Cyprus in the event of a hydrogen bomb attack.

India's millions

THE draft outline of India's third five-year plan, published on July 5, included estimates of population.

Estimates of a few years ago have already had to be revised upwards. In 1955 a population of 520,000,000 was forecast for 1981; the current estimate is that 528,000,000 will be reached by 1971.

There are now about 2,500 birth control clinics all over India run as part of the Government medical service.

★

The Basutoland Legislative Council recently voted, by 54 votes to nine, to outlaw apartheid in all its forms from Basutoland, and called for legislation, said a news report in the June 18 issue of *Contact*, the South African fortnightly.

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PRISONERS BROKEN DOWN

Robert Greacen reviews

Why They Collaborated, by Eugene Kinkead. Longmans, 21s.

THE purpose of any war is to force the enemy into submission. But the extent of the force permissible has for centuries been a matter of dispute among those who consider war a legitimate way of settling disputes.

"Rules"—carefully built up into a system by honourable fighters in the past—have gradually fallen into disuse. More and more war has become violence at all costs, regardless of the injuries inflicted on civilians, women, children and prisoners.

Eugene Kinkead points out in **WHY THEY COLLABORATED** that US soldiers were often grievously treated in British camps during the American Revolution, in both Union and Confederate camps during the Civil War, and in Japanese camps during World War II without any wholesale breakdown

of morale or widespread collaboration with the captors. In the Korean War of 1950-1953 out of a total of 7,190 prisoners not one managed to escape. That, however, is the least of the PoW surprises.

At the end of that war 21 Americans decided to remain with the Communists. One out of three US soldiers collaborated in one way or another with the Chinese. The degree of collaboration varied, of course, ranging from the writing of anti-American propaganda and informing on their fellow-prisoners to the relatively small offence of broadcasting Christmas greetings home and so putting the Communists in a favourable light.

Another striking feature of the behaviour of the American prisoners was the brutality of a section of them towards fellow-prisoners. There were several murders. A sergeant was subsequently convicted by a court martial of killing two seriously ill men by throwing them out into the snow. Still another important fact is that 38 per cent—2,730 men out of 7,190—actually died in captivity, a higher PoW death-rate than in any war in which the United States had been previously engaged.

As Mr. Kinkead remarks, the American public has tended to attribute these disturbing facts solely to Communist cruelty, and in particular to some kind of almost magically evil process loosely called "brainwashing." That explanation is certainly not accepted by the Army authorities, who made an exhaustive study, based on intensive questioning, of returned prisoners. This investigation into what really happened in the camps, carried out for the most part by skilled interrogators and psychiatrists, probed deeply into many aspects of American society: the upbringing of children, education, physical fitness, religious belief, and the high standard of living in the US.

For the detailed Army study nearly 4,000 case histories were put together and carefully examined. The investigation started in the late summer of 1950 and ended in July, 1955, two years after the signing of the Panmunjom armistice. As a result President Eisenhower promulgated a new Code of Conduct for members of the Armed Forces, setting forth the duties and obligations of captured fighting men. Key phrases from this Code run:

"I will make every effort to escape. . . If I become a prisoner of war I will keep faith with my fellow prisoners. . . I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause. . . I will trust in my God and the United States of America."

The US Army defines "brainwashing"

Therefore the technique employed can best be called "indoctrination." Here the idea is to take advantage of a man's weakest points of character. Does X give in to threats? Then threaten him. Does Y respond to flattery? Right, flatter him. Those who would not collaborate, whatever the threats or promises, were dubbed "reactionaries," detailed to hard labour and left severely alone. "Progressives," on the other hand, were given little physical work, and a full-time programme of "indoctrination" in Marxism. Men between 18 and 24 of good intelligence but little formal education were most effectively indoctrinated.

Mr. Kinkead devotes a whole chapter to a consideration of the contrasting attitude of the captured Turks. Out of 229 Turks not one died in captivity, although almost half of them had been injured in battle. When a Turk fell sick his comrades nursed him back to health. They divided food in equal portions "down to the last morsel."

Only two of them committed a minor act of collaboration, and these two were ostracised by the others for the rest of their period of imprisonment. The British PoWs were less successful than the Turks in resisting indoctrination, but less prone to collaboration than the Americans.

Eugene Kinkead tells his story interestingly, although he relies too much, perhaps, on official sources for his information and indeed his interpretation of what happened. His book is a challenging document which must make us all wonder how we ourselves would behave in similar circumstances. It also proves that George Orwell's nightmareish NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR world is already upon us. Everyone interested in the ideas underlying East-West tension ought to read **WHY THEY COLLABORATED**.

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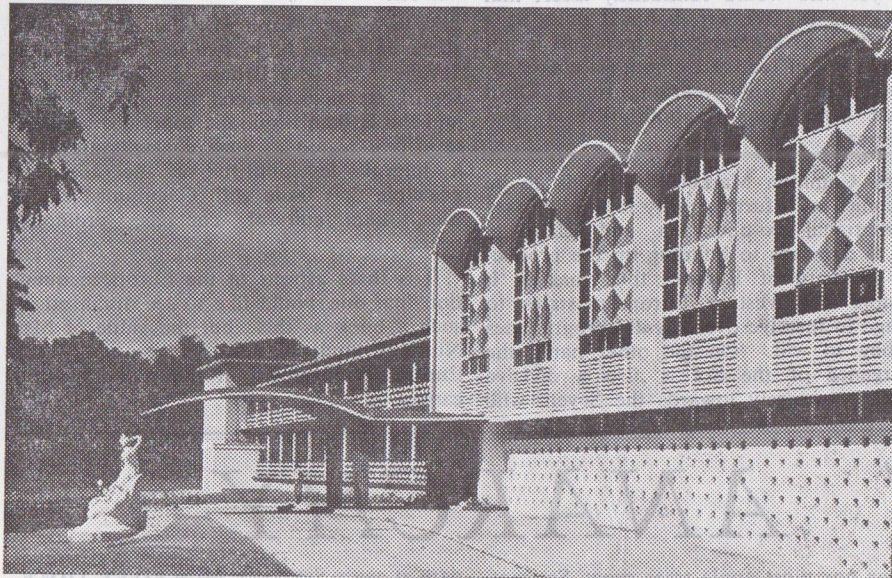
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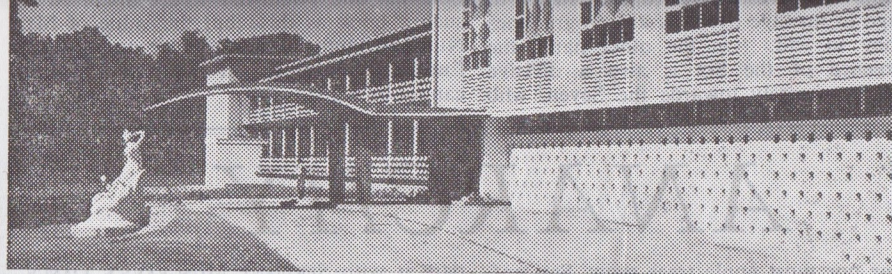
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Man and want



"UN organisations have made an impressive beginning" fighting want and ignorance. Above: A technical high school, part of the "Greater Rangoon" project, which a UN expert helped to plan.

FRANK LEES reviews



"UN organisations have made an impressive beginning" fighting want and ignorance. Above: A technical high school, part of the "Greater Rangoon" project, which a UN expert helped to plan.

FRANK LEES reviews

People, Space, Food, by A McCormack. Sheed and Ward. 9s.

THE Food and Agriculture Organisation has just launched its "Free the World from Hunger" year. The publication of PEOPLE, SPACE, FOOD by Arthur McCormack is a timely curtain-raiser to the UN campaign. The author is a Catholic who has spent a considerable part of his life working in Africa.

There have in recent years been a number of neo-Malthusian forecasts of the gloomy prospect facing the world if present trends in population growth continue. The official UN estimate is that the world population will have more than doubled by the year 2000. Moreover, the increase is greatest in the under-developed areas.

The case for the pessimist is simple and easily publicised, that for the optimist is more complex. It is so because there is no one simple measure which can be expected to deal with the population problem. Instead there is a large number of measures which will have to be taken and which will in their sum provide a more than adequate answer to the problem.

There are measures for increasing food yields: crop protection, fertilisers, irrigation, breeding of new strains, new agricultural cycles. There are vast areas which can be brought under cultivation. There are resources in the sea we have hardly yet tapped. And so on. The UN organisations have already made an impressive beginning.

What is needed now is the funds to enable what is already known to be applied on a big scale. Not only are the technical

problems either solved or certainly capable of solution, but the work of the UN agencies throughout the world shows that there are few political problems which are insoluble if the resources are available. It is noticeable that UN reports are in general optimistic.

Inevitably the question of birth control receives prominence. Its advocates usually agree that it is necessary to increase food production, but argue that population control should supplement this. This case obviously stands or falls on whether limited resources are best used in spreading birth control or improved agriculture, for both approaches require similar resources—skilled village workers and considerable government expenditure. There has been a test case in Puerto Rico, but the results seem to be inconclusive.

Mr. McCormack has other arguments against birth control, but I think he makes his case on this argument alone. It seems likely that birth control will be a pretty blunt weapon in dealing with population problems.

Clearly there is a problem in so far as there is an ultimate limit to the number of people the earth can hold, but we are so many orders of magnitude away from this limit that we cannot make now any rational decisions on this problem.

The book makes interesting reading. Did you know that there are half a million Japanese in Brazil, that there is a river six miles wide flowing under the Nile, that India is mass-producing solar cookers? As a wide-ranging introduction to the population problem this is a useful book.

July, 1955, two years after the signing of the Panmunjom armistice. As a result President Eisenhower promulgated a new Code of Conduct for members of the Armed Forces, setting forth the duties and obligations of captured fighting men. Key phrases from this Code run:

"I will make every effort to escape. . . If I become a prisoner of war I will keep faith with my fellow prisoners. . . I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause. . . I will trust in my God and the United States of America."

The US Army defines "brainwashing" as a process that will produce obvious character changes. This alteration may be brought about by hypnosis, drugs, physical torture or extreme mental pressure, so that the subject of "treatment" ceases to be the person he was. So far as we know these techniques were *not* used on US PoWs—in fact, they would have been in conflict with the avowedly "lenient" policy of the Chinese. Not only that, they would have had the effect of uniting the Americans against their jailors.

OUR REVIEWERS

DAVID BOULTON, of *Tribune's* staff, is a member of the Christian Socialist Movement.

B. G. COOPER is engaged on research at Oxford University.

NANCY DAWSON, a daughter of Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, and a graduate at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, is a teacher.

ROBERT GREACEN is a lecturer for the London County Council. Author of the *ART OF NOEL* COWARD, he is a literary critic, contributing to the *Daily Telegraph*, *John o' London's* and *The Humanist*.

HILDA VON KLENZE lived in Germany under the Hitler regime. She is now a member of the Peace Pledge Union staff.

FRANK LEES, who has been active for a number of years in "War on Want", is a Quaker and graduate employed in industry.

ALAN LOVELL, until recently Literary Editor of *Peace News*, is a Workers' Educational Association lecturer.

JACK SHEPHERD, a former warden of the Friends International Centre in London, is now a free-lance writer for radio and television.

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Anthony Nutting, whose neglect of the military demarcation line in Europe makes his outlook "as sterile as that of the anti-European politicians he so rightly castigates."

AFTER the close of the last war Attlee remarked on Europe, "We must federate or perish;" Churchill spoke in the same vein; nothing was done to make these sentiments a reality.

Fifteen years later Britain is reaping the harvest of isolation from Europe, rapidly becoming the extra-continental offshore island, an outsider vis-a-vis a Europe increasingly aware of its basic unity, and more and more practically expressing that unity in schemes of economic and cultural integration.

The development of the post-war European unity movement, and the failure of our own country to provide any dynamic leadership or even imaginative participation in this movement, are ably outlined in Anthony Nutting's *EUROPE WILL NOT WAIT*. This book springs from the author's personal political experience: Nutting was Foreign Under-Secretary from 1951-54, and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from 1954-56, resigning from Eden's Cabinet over Suez.

He asserts that the 1945-51 Labour Gov-

movement. Yet as he implicitly admits, there is no evidence that had a Conservative Government been in power in Britain after the war, the story would have been different: Churchill gave European politicians the impression that Britain would become a full member of a Western Federation, but then as now, the thought-barrier of national sovereignty and Commonwealth ties is a difficult one for the Conservatives to penetrate.

In 1950 Britain rejected the idea of participation in the Schuman-plan Coal and Steel Pool: Nutting regards this as "the most vital turning point in Anglo-European relations since the Second World War," and believes that British participation, if it had been accepted in principle by Attlee's Government, could have changed the whole course of subsequent European developments, and could have moulded the supra-national authority to British requirements.

An equally tragic failure, in the author's view, was Eden's rejection of the European Defence Community plan for a European Army in 1951. Eden's plan for Britain's associate membership of the developing European community was in 1952 swept aside by continental statesmen now grown impatient, even suspicious, of Britain's attitudes towards their goal of a united Europe. The tide was by then beginning to flow strongly in favour of economic and political federalism, with Britain no longer awaited as the leader, but regarded as the outsider.

The tide has been flowing in that direction ever since, and in this movement Franco-German relationships have played

a vital part. In discussing the tortuous Anglo-French discussions and the French Assembly debates which inexorably led to the abandonment of the EDC concept, Nutting shows that the mentality of the new Western Germany was at stake—was it to be sympathetic, broad and European, or narrow and nationalistic, and therefore dangerous?

EDC vanished before being realised, yet for its economic advance Germany has remained closely involved with Western Europeanism: the real tragedy, of EDC and NATO, and the consequent re-arming of Germany (and indeed all Western Europe), surely is that Western co-operation has been so intimately connected with militarism and the nuclear power-bloc alignment.

The exception is the Common Market—and yet who would confidently assert that the desire for Western political unity as a final stage to economic co-operation is not partly born of fear of Communist encroachments, and of the yearning for a Third Force over against both Russia and America?

The Common Market is certainly to be welcomed as a further essay in non-military international co-operation and planning, and as a means to building up the productive capacity of Europe, thus making it possible for Western European states to engage in massive overseas aid programmes if they so will. On the other hand, the emergence of the Six is also a divisive force, not merely towards the Seven, who

will not be diplomatically affected, but above all towards Eastern Europe.

The great paradox of the post-war European unity movement is that it has been divisive of Europe: economic co-operation has only been conceived in Western terms, and political co-ordination ideas have followed the military demarcation line of NATO-Warsaw Pact. In neglecting this aspect of the contemporary European question, Nutting's outlook is as sterile as that of the anti-European politicians he so rightly castigates.

It is high time that free trade areas and common markets began to be employed as essential tools for the construction of a viable peaceful co-existence. The international transmission of commerce and culture alike build up a nexus of mutual dependence and understanding—one can accept this view at a realistic level without indulging in flights of Victorian liberal naiveté.

Is there any reason why Poland or Yugoslavia could not be invited to join the Outer Seven? Or why Britain should not press for tri-lateral discussions to fuse Six, Seven, and the Balkan economic zone into a single tariff-free region? Such concepts are only a logical development of the accepted principle that trade with Communist countries, like cultural contacts, promotes peace.

It is these aspects of the European question that one would like to see discussed in such a book as this: but the value of Mr. Nutting's study as a useful account of the European movement in the past 15 years cannot be denied.

EUROPEAN UNITY

B. G. Cooper reviews

Europe Will Not Wait, by the Rt. Hon. Anthony Nutting. Hollis & Carter. 12s. 6d.

MERE ANARCHY

THOUGH neither of his first two plays was commercially successful, John Arden is now becoming a prestige name. I am not surprised. His plays are so different from the current run of British drama that it is difficult

higher nor most apple trees grow, Serjeant. D'you reckon we can start an orchard?"

I could go on for some pages about the new riches that I have discovered. It would be much more satisfactory if readers bought the play and read it for themselves. It

pare it with *SERGEANT MUSGRAVE'S DANCE*. John Arden's greatest achievement in the play was the creation of a language that was formal and yet had the power to create a believable world for his action. And the language was also strong enough to show the relevance of Arden's created world to

more and more practically expressing that unity in schemes of economic and cultural integration.

The development of the post-war European unity movement, and the failure of our own country to provide any dynamic leadership or even imaginative participation in this movement, are ably outlined in Antony Nutting's *EUROPE WILL NOT WAIT*. This book springs from the author's personal political experience: Nutting was Foreign Under-Secretary from 1951-54, and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from 1954-56, resigning from Eden's Cabinet over Suez.

He asserts that the 1945-51 Labour Government did not take seriously the desire for European community because in the immediate post-war situation Britain was committed to America, and therefore to its isolationism towards the continent, a mood that was not dispelled until American fears of growing Communist power in Eastern Europe led first to the Marshall Plan of 1947, and the subsequent scramble to erect military alliances. Communism in the European trades union movement also frightened off Bevin from closer ties with organised labour on the other side of the Channel—perhaps one of his most serious errors of judgment.



Certainly the politicians of Europeanism—de Gasperi, Schuman, Spaak, Blum, Bidault, and many others—were profoundly disappointed that Bevin rejected any American suggestions that Organisation for European Economic Co-operation should be followed by closed Atlantic Europe economic integration, and were equally dismayed that their plans to make the Council of Europe a stepping-stone to a supranational authority quickened no response in Britain's Foreign Secretary.

Bevin was only interested in Western European unity for military needs, pressing on with Western Union and NATO, but unwilling in the economic sphere to co-operate with France as a counter-balance to Germany, whose production by 1949 had reached 80 per cent of the pre-war level, a fact alarming to the other Western states.

The author, in his discussion of these years, is at pains to criticise the Labour politicians for their insularity, and to praise Churchill and other Conservatives for their grasp of the importance of the European

the leader, but regarded as the outsider. The tide has been flowing in that direction ever since, and in this movement Franco-German relationships have played

THOUGH neither of his first two plays was commercially successful, John Arden is now becoming a prestige name. I am not surprised. His plays are so different from the current run of British drama that it is difficult to make easy judgments about them. But they stay in the mind long after they have been seen.

I saw the Royal Court Theatre's production of "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance" three times and have now read the recently published edition of the play. I am still discovering it.

On reading the text, I found that my original interpretation of the play was too crude (see PN October 30). I saw it as a straight conflict between order and discipline (militarism) and humanity (anarchy). I missed two important points. When law and order are restored and Musgrave and Attercliffe are arrested, all the townsfolk, rich and poor, join in the celebration dance with the dragoons. The man who most symbolises the spirit of anarchy, the leader of the miners, is also drawn into the dance, though reluctantly. By this Arden shows that he is aware of the limitations of simple anarchy as a protest.

To counteract this awareness there is the affirmation in the last speech of the play. Musgrave and Attercliffe are both to be hanged. They have achieved nothing. But in his final speech Attercliffe begins to wonder if their sacrifice might not have some effect. He sings:

*Your blood red rose is withered and gone
And fallen on the floor:
And he who brought the apple down
Shall be my darling dear.
For the apple holds a seed will grow
In live and lengthy joy
To raise a flourishing tree of fruit
For ever and a day.
With fal-la-la-the-dee, toor-a-ley,
For ever and a day.*

"They're going to hang us up a length

higher nor most apple trees grow, Serjeant. D'you reckon we can start an orchard?"

I could go on for some pages about the new riches that I have discovered. It would be much more satisfactory if readers bought the play and read it for themselves. It doesn't even cost much!

In his first novel *SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING* and in his collection of short stories *THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG DISTANCE RUNNER* Alan Sillitoe voiced much the same kind of protest that is present in Arden's plays. The novel and the stories were realistic accounts of people living in a society that was constantly trying to tame and standardise them.

In his new novel *THE GENERAL* Sillitoe

ALAN LOVELL reviews

Serjeant Musgrave's Dance by John Arden. Methuen. 3s. 6d.

The General by Alan Sillitoe. W. H. Allen. 13s. 6d.

has tried to do something different. The novel tells the story of an orchestra which, when travelling to the battle front to entertain the troops, is captured by the enemy. According to the enemy's rules, all prisoners should be shot immediately. But the General who has to give the execution order is a cultured man. The conflict between his cultural sense and his military duty becomes an agonising one. He finally lets the orchestra escape even though this means disgrace and punishment for him.

All the details of the story are left deliberately vague. We are never told the name of the country from which the orchestra comes. We only know that the enemy is called the Gorsheks. Little is told us about the background of the main characters. Sillitoe obviously meant the novel as a symbolic version of the conflict between the forces of creation and those of destruction.

The failure of *THE GENERAL* to become more than a good idea is clear if we com-

pare it with *SERGEANT MUSGRAVE'S DANCE*. John Arden's greatest achievement in the play was the creation of a language that was formal and yet had the power to create a believable world for his action. And the language was also strong enough to show the relevance of Arden's created world to our own.

Alan Sillitoe has only achieved a negative success with the language of *THE GENERAL*. It is formal enough to prevent us from imagining that the novel is a realistic account of events but not strong enough to create a unique world for the novel or do more than hint at the relevance of its own happenings to our own problems. I think you can see this if you compare this quota-

tion from *THE GENERAL* with my earlier one from *SERGEANT MUSGRAVE'S DANCE*. The General muses:

"Freedom. The freedom to attain your own successes within a formulated pattern. The freedom to serve. The freedom to submit uncertain questions to those in authority above you. Your conscience was a god who stated but did not decide. The conductor of the orchestra talks so forcibly about freedom, but what does he really know of it. Danger: an invisible flag that flies when unprofessional thoughts begin to dominate your mind."

For a long time we have needed a new imaginative vision of our society and the quality of life it makes possible. The old pictures whether they are Marxist or liberal democratic are tired and dead. In the work of both Sillitoe and Arden one can see the beginnings of a new vision. They are writers we cannot afford to ignore.

"THERE are explosive elements in the Gospels of which the Church has always been afraid—like radioactive material that has to be shut up in leaden coffins." Thus writes Kenneth Barnes, a teacher of adventurous disposition and scientific training, and a Quaker.

By "the Creative Imagination" he means the life of God which, through people, goes adventuring and makes discoveries. This book, well worth serious study, and first delivered as the Swarthmore Lecture for 1960, is an impassioned plea that religious people in their religious groupings might emulate the attitudes of scientists in their groupings.

He pleads a persuasive case on behalf of scientists, denying that any real dichotomy exists between science and religion, and blaming religious people for creating the false dichotomy. It is not, he suggests, the fault of scientists that their achievements have outstripped the good condition of human nature, but the fault of religious people. It is not, he suggests, a matter of whether or not God exists, but whether or not God acts. If God does act, does go adventuring and discovering, then men lock up their castles of faith at their own peril.

★ Some of his conclusions about scientists will, I suspect, cause a few scientific eyebrows to lift; and most of his conclusions will doubtless horrify those religious people who need a frozen dogma. Readers of this paper are not likely to dispute his call to action, but one might question some of the directives.

Does not history suggest that the power of God operates through whatever human channel is open and ready to receive it; that invariably it begins by occupying individuals who in course of time move into groups which, in the struggle to survive as groups, clutter up the channel until it is

Exploding the Gospel

JACK SHEPHERD
reviews

The Creative Imagination, by Kenneth C. Barnes. (Allen & Unwin, 6s.)

useless for that high purpose and has to be abandoned? It was Jeremiah's melancholy job to inform the historic nation of Judah that it was reaching the point of no further use. It was part of Galileo's function to suggest that the Christian Church had reached a similar point of redundancy.

It may well be, as Kenneth Barnes claims, that the power of God went throbbing on through Galileo and his successors, but that is not to say that men who practice science today still hold the Spirit by divine right. May not the grouping of scientists have already reached and passed the same point of failure? We have to-day explosive elements other than those in the Gospels, which have to be kept in leaden coffins. Surely salvation has never been found in groups.

★ I, for one, echo a loud amen when Kenneth Barnes says that imagination becomes properly creative when to it is added humility, discipline, and compassion. But how are these qualities to be acquired? By the cultivation of scientific thinking? Their only source known to me is the grace of

God, something which is open to all persons of all walks of life and patterns of thought.

A good analogy is made between the mystic's "dark night of the soul," and the scientist's leap of faith, into the dark, with mind open and unprejudiced; but does this not also remind us that while the Creative Imagination was possessing Galileo, it was also possessing St. John of the Cross in a way both unscientific and unecclesiastical?

★

In their groupings, neither scientists nor religionists have ventured to take the leap required by Christ; the unscientific suggestion that you believe that the Kingdom of God is here and now and within you, and act accordingly.

But, points of difference notwithstanding, Kenneth Barnes makes a sobering point. The scientific method, by virtue of its open mind, its readiness to discard the disproven, and its willingness to accept when true that which might be unwelcome, holds an advantage and carries corresponding responsibility. Amongst religious groupings the Society of Friends has similar advantages and responsibilities. This is a point which cannot be evaded with an easy mind.



Drawing by Eberhard Tacke.
Martin Niemoeller—Hitler never forgave him.

Religious rebel

Hilda von Klenze reviews

Pastor Martin Niemoeller, by Dietmar Schmidt. Odhams. 21s.

THERE are rebels who accept a cause for the sake of destroying discipline, and there are rebels who reject discipline for the sake of maintaining a cause. Martin Niemoeller is of the latter kind, and that fact has earned him the epithet "the salutary offence" as well as the abiding love and hatred of his contemporaries.

When in 1919 the young naval officer was ordered to deliver two submarines to England under the conditions of the armistice, he stormed at his superior, "I did not want this truce and I did not conclude it. For all I care, the people who promised the submarines to England can take them there. I won't." In 1945 the Americans freed him from the concentration camp but wanted to detain him for questioning. "Do you call this liberation," he barked at the commandant of the interrogation centre. "I shall go on hunger strike until you let me join my wife and family."

BOOKS RECEIVED

TALKS ON THE GITA, by Vinoba Bhave. (Allen and Unwin, 16s.) Vinoba's talks in Dhulia Jail, Bombay, in 1932, with an introduction by Jayaprakash Narayan. See also DISCOURSES ON THE GITA, by M. K. Gandhi. (Navajivan, 1s. 3d.)—a series of letters from prison written in the early Thirties.

AMERICA THE VINCIBLE, by Emmet John Hughes. (A Penguin Special, 3s. 6d.) An orthodox attack on US foreign policy in the Fifties by a former chief speech writer and assistant to President Eisenhower.

WHY EVIL? by John James. (Pelican, 3s. 6d.) A Biblical approach.

A PROSPECT OF PEACE, by J. D. Bernal. (Lawrence and Wishart, 3s. 6d.) A paperback based on the author's WORLD WITHOUT WAR—a study of what the world could be like.

Pamphlets

India and China, by Horace Alexander. (Friends East-West Relations Committee, 9d. post free.) The sixth and last of the

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or God operates through whatever human channel is open and ready to receive it; that invariably it begins by occupying individuals who in course of time move into groups which, in the struggle to survive as groups, clutter up the channel until it is properly creative when to it is added humility, discipline, and compassion. But how are these qualities to be acquired? By the cultivation of scientific thinking? Their only source known to me is the grace of

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Pamphlets

India and China, by Horace Alexander. (Friends East-West Relations Committee, 9d. post free.) The sixth and last of the Committee's first series of Information Papers on significant aspects of the East-West problem. A new series will commence in September.

Wales as an Economic Entity, by Gwynfor Evans. (Plaid Cymru, 6d.) The President of the Welsh Nationalist Party gives a reasoned and factual reply to criticisms from MPs of the three major parties.

The New Africa, by Basil Davidson. (Daily Mirror Spotlight pamphlet, 3d.) Ridiculously cheap for 3d.

In Ignorance Refrain. (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.) A CND four-page handout specifically on strontium-90.

Experiments for Survival, by Francis Jude. (Friends Peace Committee, 3d.) A Quaker approach to the hydrogen bomb and war.

But—You Can't Trust the Russians, by A. Glenn Mower, Jr. (Peace Education Programme of the American Friends Service Committee, 50 cents or 3s. 6d.) The Assistant Professor of Political Science at Illinois Wesleyan University faces a contradiction: Americans who say they cannot live with the Communists but cannot say what else can happen.

Labour's Stake in Peace. (American Friends Service Committee, 20 cents or 1s. 9d.). Emil Mazey's appeal last February to some 700 trade unionists in Chicago to work for world disarmament. Also excerpts from speeches by William C. Davidson and Fenner Brockway, MP.

Madmen at Work, by William H. Cary. (American Friends Service Committee, 20 cents or 1s. 9d.). This is a description of the latest developments and moves to place Polaris missiles in Europe.

offence" as well as the abiding love and hatred of his contemporaries.

When in 1919 the young naval officer was ordered to deliver two submarines to England under the conditions of the armistice, he stormed at his superior, "I did not want this truce and I did not conclude it. For all I care, the people who promised the submarines to England can take them there. I won't." In 1945 the Americans freed him from the concentration camp but wanted to detain him for questioning. "Do you call this liberation," he barked at the commandant of the interrogation centre. "I shall go on hunger strike until you let me join my wife and family."

In both cases he got away with it, but Hitler never forgot or forgave Niemoeller's determined opposition to the persecution of the Jews and the Nazi interference in church matters. At the first opportunity the rebellious pastor was arrested and he remained the Fuhrer's personal prisoner for eight years.

An officious immigration officer at London Airport who recently asked Martin Niemoeller for the subject of his sermons in Britain received the succinct reply "The Gospel of Jesus Christ," and Christ's teaching has indeed been the ruling force in the life of a man who was an enthusiastic soldier in the First World War, later became a minister, and is now a pacifist.

"The Gospel is attack," he once wrote from the concentration camp, and thus summarised his pugnacious interpretation of the Christian religion. He has attacked German rearmament, conscription, nuclear weapons, the appointment of army padres by the Evangelical Church, and the narrow anti-Communism in West Germany, to the despair of the authorities and the encouragement of his friends, although even they feel sometimes moved to quote the now famous rebuke of a fellow churchman, "Did you have to say it like that, Brother Niemoeller?"

It is obvious from this biography of a controversial figure that the author belongs to Martin Niemoeller's admirers, but as he says in his preface, "To place Niemoeller on a hero's pedestal is to be far removed from the place where the key to his life is hidden." He does not seek to interpret, but reports honestly, and the picture which emerges has the insinuating charm as well as the rough edges of the living man.

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Unlearnt lesson?



"I remember what a revelation it was for me to visit Vimy Ridge." Above: Canadian troops dig in at shell-scarred Vimy Ridge in 1917.

Nancy Dawson reviews

Testament of Youth, by Vera Brittain. Grey Arrow Books, Hutchinson. 3s. 6d.

"FOR Art stopped short in the cultivated court of the Empress Josephine." History as taught in schools 15 years ago stopped short at 1914.

Even today, although the O-level syllabus extends to 1939, many history teachers do not go beyond the causes of the First World War. Generations born in the nineteen-thirties and -forties, therefore, whose parents were too young to have fought in that war, may know less about its sordid slaughter than about the Wars of the Roses. I remember what a revelation it was for me to visit Vimy Ridge and see the opposing trenches only a few yards apart, with the no-man's land between still pitted with

do their "bit" for King and Country, and yet rebelling more and more against the fatuous carnage involved.

As Vera Brittain stresses in her foreword, her personal story was in no way unique. Her provincial upbringing, for instance, was typical of the Edwardian era. She draws a picture of catty and inquisitive neighbours, innumerable dances and tennis parties, and a constant battle against the assumption that young ladies should be groomed to make an advantageous marriage, and that every other type of education was superfluous. (We have progressed in some respects, few girls nowadays wanting to go to University, would have to scale such a wall of prejudice as Vera Brittain did.)

TRADE UNIONS AND PACIFISTS

By David Boulton

PACIFISTS have always been scared stiff of the trade union movement. Their love-hate relationship with the Labour Party is one product of this fear, as their temperamental (but mistaken) unwillingness to acknowledge the class war, and to wage it, is one cause.

That fear and suspicion has had an immensely far-reaching effect, for at its door must be laid much of the blame for the dismal failure of pacifists to develop anything approaching a common tactic, so that while some have sought to leaven the lump of the wider Labour movement, others have pinned their stars to independent socialist parties, without economic roots, inevitably abortive, others to vaguely anarchist or extra-Parliamentary schemes and shadows of schemes, and yet others to non-political individualist preaching.

The antipathy is mutual. The trade union movement as a whole have never had any very warm regard for the pacifist. It would be remarkable if it had, since, of historical necessity, its own first principal has been group loyalty, solidarity, whereas the pacifists' has been the individual's right and responsibility to refuse to participate in group violence, involving the relegation of group loyalty and solidarity to a subsidiary status, at least in any short-term, immediate sense.

But the decision to disarm, the decision for which the pacifist works, is a political decision. That means, in Britain, that it must be a decision of an elected government. That again means (almost certainly) that it must be the decision of a political party. Most pacifists would agree that, despite its record, the only one of the present major parties which will ever conceivably be in a position to take that decision, step by step, via nuclear disarmament, is the Labour Party.

unions) will learn is the complexity of the democratic process within the movement. Thus the policy-making body of the Transport & General Workers is a biennial delegate conference elected by a ballot of members of each of 14 trade groups in each of 14 geographical regions; but the union's delegation to Labour Party conference has, in practice, a considerable degree of freedom.

Mineworkers' delegates, on the other hand, meet annually, elected by branch block vote. The Amalgamated Engineers, also meeting annually, choose their delegates by a curious system of doubly indirect elections, branches electing District Committees by ballot, and District Committees sending two delegates to a Divisional Committee which in turn sends two delegates to the National Committee. There are as many procedural variations among the smaller unions, some vesting most of the power with paid officials, others with elected laymen, some highly amenable to penetration by organised minorities, others hardly at all so.

Harrison's verdict on trade union democracy is encouraging. "Executives can cheat their conference on this or that decision," he writes, "and use every resource of procedure and demagoguery, but unless the delegates are fraudulently elected, or a Communist Executive confronts a predominantly Communist conference no leadership can hope systematically to defraud the membership, warp decisions, and commit the union's whole influence in a perverse direction. Who, having met delegates to a TGWU or USDAW conference, can really believe that they are stooges?"

"To deny that these conferences are as representative as is possible within the trade union movement raises as many problems as it explains..."

"Within the existing structure of trade unionism it is hard to see how the membership could be brought into any more

tivated court of the Empress Josephine." History as taught in schools 15 years ago stopped short at 1914.

Even today, although the O-level syllabus extends to 1939, many history teachers do not go beyond the causes of the First World War. Generations born in the nineteen-thirties and -forties, therefore, whose parents were too young to have fought in that war, may know less about its sordid slaughter than about the Wars of the Roses. I remember what a revelation it was for me to visit Vimy Ridge and see the opposing trenches only a few yards apart, with the no-man's land between still pitted with shell craters.

This ignorance of the young about events that destroyed the whole way of life of their elders produces a lack of sympathy between them. To an age that has become mentally adapted to the idea of genocide, and is feeling its way towards internationalism, the pre-1914 belief in the inevitability of peace and progress seems naïve, and the hysterical patriotism that accompanied the early years of the First World War, when young girls would hand out white feathers to strangers in the street, seems pathological in its intensity.

I think it important that those who are young today should try to gain a sympathetic understanding of the predicament and experiences of those who were young in 1914. I therefore welcome the reprinting as paper backs of two "classic" accounts of that period—Robert Graves's *GOODBYE TO ALL THAT** and Vera Brittain's *TESTAMENT OF YOUTH*.

In a sense, these two books complement each other. Robert Graves describes with unnerving coolness the experiences of a young officer at the Western front. Vera Brittain, partly by quotations from her diary and letters, recaptures the torturing uncertainty and anguish of those who waited at home.

Of course, to the contemporaries of their authors these books need no introduction. Together with the books and poems of Siegfried Sassoon, and the poems of Blunden, Owen, Read and Isaac Rosenberg, they made articulate the conflicting emotions felt by many people of wanting courageously to

Penguin Books, 3s. 6d.

do then on for King and Country, and yet rebelling more and more against the fatuous carnage involved.

As Vera Brittain stresses in her foreword, her personal story was in no way unique. Her provincial upbringing, for instance, was typical of the Edwardian era. She draws a picture of catty and inquisitive neighbours, innumerable dances and tennis parties, and a constant battle against the assumption that young ladies should be groomed to make an advantageous marriage, and that every other type of education was superfluous. (We have progressed in some respects, few girls nowadays wanting to go to University, would have to scale such a wall of prejudice as Vera Brittain did.)

Her experiences during the war must have been fairly typical, too, and to people like me who have never lost anything better loved than a guinea-pig, they make most painful reading.

The first two parts of Vera Brittain's book describe her life up to 1918, and, as I have said, much of what she writes applied to millions of her contemporaries. Yet it is the last part of her book that seems most relevant today. In it she tells how, after her world had been shattered by the War, she determined to use all her talents and energy in trying to prevent further wars. The way she chose was that of writing and lecturing on behalf of the League of Nations to encourage people to think in international rather than national terms.

The same problem confronts us all. What can we do to avert the next cataclysm? Stand on street corners and collect pennies for the United Nations Association? March to Aldermaston? Write to the papers decrying the folly of regarding countries as superhuman beings with attributes like pride and honour? Read and write articles for *Peace News*?

Some, like Aldous Huxley in *EYELESS IN GAZA*, would maintain that religious not political action was appropriate. Others would maintain that nothing we do makes any difference, that the man in the street has no power to alter the course of history, that human nature does not change and that unenlightened self-interest will always guide his behaviour. And yet if every generation needs a blood bath to make it understand that no one wins a modern war, we are indeed lost. It is vital that we learn from the tragic experience of others—from people like Miss Brittain.

But the decision to disarm, the decision for which the pacifist works, is a political decision. That means, in Britain, that it must be a decision of an elected government. That again means (almost certainly) that it must be the decision of a political party. Most pacifists would agree that, despite its record, the only one of the present major parties which will ever conceivably be in a position to take that decision, step by step, via nuclear disarmament, is the Labour Party.

The policy-making body of the Labour Party, unless Hugh Gaitskell rejects Clement Attlee's verdict, is Annual Conference—the final authority of the Labour Party . . . a Parliament of the Movement . . . [which] lays down the policy of the Party and issues instructions which must be carried out by the Executive, the affiliated organisations, and its representatives in Parliament and on local authorities." (*THE LABOUR PARTY IN PERSPECTIVE AND TWELVE YEARS AFTER*, published by Gollancz in 1948.) Because the unions dominate Conference by sheer weight of votes, any Conference decision must be the decision of a very substantial part of the unions.

Thus the pacifist cannot by-pass the unions. He may believe, as I believe, that there is no practical path to total disarmament short of agreed, negotiated, multilateral action, but if he also believes, again as I do, that the road to multilateral disarmament begins with limited unilateral action, such as nuclear disarmament coupled with withdrawal from nuclear alliances, he cannot by-pass the trade unions.

The pacifist, in short, if he means business, must necessarily study the power-structure of the movement to learn how decisions are made within it. He will learn a great deal from Martin Harrison's *TRADE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY SINCE 1945*, published by Allen and Unwin (32s.). It is a magnificent piece of, on the whole, dispassionate research coupled with rather less dispassionate but also less important judgments and prophecies.

The first thing pacifists (as a minority seeking to infiltrate its ideas into the

delegates are fraudulently elected, or a Communist Executive confronts a predominantly Communist conference no leadership can hope systematically to defraud the membership, warp decisions, and commit the union's whole influence in a perverse direction. Who, having met delegates to a TGWU or USDAW conference, can really believe that they are stooges?

"To deny that these conferences are as representative as is possible within the trade union movement raises as many problems as it explains . . .

"Within the existing structure of trade unionism it is hard to see how the membership could be brought into any more true participation in the decisions made at the Party Conference, or how 'representation' could be made more real."

Harry Welton's *THE TRADE UNIONS, THE EMPLOYERS AND THE STATE*, published last month by Pall Mall Press (17s. 6d.), is no substitute for Harrison. (For Mr. Welton, a "progressive trade unionist," is one who has repudiated the class war). On the other hand, Dr. V. L. Allen's *TRADE UNIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT*, published last week by Longmans (35s.), though it persuasively argues that the "giants' strength" of the unions is something of a myth, hardly disturbs my own argument—that the trade union movement is too powerful for the pacifist to hope to by-pass it, and that one of his first responsibilities is to find out just how the whole thing ticks.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The missing RB47

WHEN the USAF RB47 'plane was first reported missing from the Brize Norton base from which it took off it was stated to be on a flight of investigation of the magnetic influences of the earth. It was also (credibly?) suggested by Chapman Pincher in the *Daily Express* on July 4 that this investigation was being made with the object of helping in the correction of errors which these influences could have on the fantastic new Fylingdales radar station in Yorkshire. If these statements and suggestions have any basis in fact the long-suffering taxpayers in this country have the right to ask what has been done in the name of technology in the post-war years with the astronomical sums of money beside which the "ground nuts" fiasco is mere "pea-nuts."

If the statements have no basis in fact, and if the plane was one—not the first, as we now well know—of those which the US, exercising its "sovereign" rights as occupants of such bases, sends out on aerial reconnaissance of the Soviet Union then the same tax-payers, in their capacity as citizens of a country signatory to the Charter of the United Nations, with all which that implies, should seek the abrogation of the agreements which permit the United States to make such flights from Britain.

We know that "diplomacy" is a cloak which covers many sins committed in the name of international relations, but military intelligence activities, especially by armed aircraft, is a garment of quite a different and more aggravating hue, as a red rag to a bull (or a prodding-iron to the bear?). If it is the intention of the United States military staff to provoke the Soviet Union to implement its promises of retaliation it may yet succeed, and those who survive will be able, we hope, to enjoy the tranquillity of an age without technological refinements—in cave dwellings.—**B. BEVIS, 107 Hill Lane, Southampton.**

South Africa

WHEN I arrived back in South Africa three and a half years ago I found conditions so appalling that I reasoned they could not become any worse, and as nothing remains static they could only improve.

What a delusion! They have deteriorated with a rapidity that is as shaking as the

I would be so grateful to have copies of PN to pass on, particularly the number that has Arthur Blaxall's moving account (PN May 13) of the trials of 149 Africans.

I would like to tell you something about the detainees but that must wait. It is wonderful to have friends in Europe and South Africa in prison for the sake of Freedom, Peace and Justice. Warmest greetings to you all.

Name and address withheld.—Ed.

'Love and hate'

THE review by Andrew Martin (PN July 8) contains the interesting statement, "But the attainment of the goal of therapy, self understanding, does not entail a choice of love rather than hate."

One may be familiar with that state of consciousness in which one is aware of two courses and follows the bad rather than the good. The apparent causes may be discovered, and one can perceive something of the inevitable conflict of the dualities in nature. Self-understanding recognises the source of these opposites in a unifying consciousness which is above and comprehends these complementary aspects. This consciousness enjoys the fundamental reality participating in love beyond the little "love" which is the opposite of "hate" (or frustrated love).

In perfect self-understanding knowledge and will are one. For a survey of these human possibilities one may study the works of Sri Aurobindo which reveal a depth and range far beyond the boundaries of the Freudian theories.—**JEFFREY BOND, 8 Fairhaven Rd., Bristol 6.**

Fylingdales march

I AM sorry I cannot accept Mr. Fenbow's count (PN, July 15) of over 2,000 marchers as accurate. The figure stated in my report* was the "official" one. I believe it erred on the conservative side, but

Hiroshima Day must arouse world opinion

NEALY 15 years ago the air raid siren wailed in Hiroshima, Japan. There had been air raids before...

When the news broke on the morning of

if the number of marchers exceeded 1,200 I should be most surprised.

Mr. Webb's comments are, however, of greater importance. As regards the quality of individual posters, most religious people would share his distaste of the example quoted. Nevertheless, to the agnostic or to the irreverent non-practising Christian the simple play on words may get something across.

There is here, as in the case of his other two points—slogan shouting and Communist Party banners—an urgent case for toleration. If we cannot co-exist within the peace movements how can we expect politicians to co-exist?

We are all aware that the presence of CP and Young Communist League banners detracts from the effect of a demonstration. The rule of Yorkshire Region Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is that all supporting organisations may carry an identifying banner. All their other posters must conform to the spirit of the demonstrations and must not be partisan.

All PN readers must, I am sure, welcome the presence of Quaker contingents, Labour, Co-operative and trade union branches, PPU and FoR groups, etc., as corporate bodies on such demonstrations as this one, and as a matter of principle the same rights should be accorded to Communists, Trotskyists and other unpopular minorities however annoying their conduct.—**FRANCIS DEUTSCH, 47 Southwood Rd., Cottingham, East Yorks.**

*The report "from a correspondent" appeared in PN July 8.

Things they say...

THE PRINCESS REGRETS

I am not afraid you will not stand up and fight a war with Russia. What I am afraid of is that there will not ever be a war.—Princess Catherine Caradja, of Rumania, who has been living in the USA since 1952, quoted in the *North Star*, Oklahoma City.

PRODUCTION CONTINUES

Senator Kennedy recently cited figures that would mean our arsenal now contains the equivalent of 1,250,000 bombs

'CO in guardroom'

court-martialled

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

GEOFFREY HUTCHINSON, the Aldermaston Marcher and conscientious objector who has been in the guardroom of a Hampshire army camp was court-martialled at Aldershot on Monday and sentenced to 93 days detention.

As reported in *Peace News* on July 1, he had refused to wear army uniform, registering in this way his belief that the use of force in settling conflict is incompatible with Christ's teaching.

The sentence of 93 days is just sufficient to procure a CO tribunal hearing of Geoffrey Hutchinson's case.

V. Scott Bayliss, a Hampshire Quaker who was present at the court-martial, told *Peace News* afterwards:

"Geoffrey Hutchinson pleaded guilty to the charge of disobeying an order to put on uniform—he was still, after three weeks in the guardroom, wearing his own civilian clothes—and after a lengthy series of incantations, marching and counter-marching in the military tradition, he was formally sentenced to 93 days detention.

"The president of the court was a charming old gentleman, Major X, in Highland fancy dress. He and the four or five other officers, all I believe Majors, were uniformly courteous and helpful in their attitude both to the prisoner and to the press and public.

"The public consisted of me—with a CND badge prominently displayed in my buttonhole, but that made no difference to their courteous attitude towards me. I could not help thinking that someone has done quite a good job in civilising the army since my first acquaintance with it in the 1914 war.

"Can it have been the COs?" A few days before the hearing Geoffrey Hutchinson was told that he had been awarded a BSc following an examination at Bristol.

Linus Pauling ● FROM PAGE ONE

in jail for appealing to the First Amendment.

tary staff to provoke the Soviet Union to implement its promises of retaliation it may yet succeed, and those who survive will be able, we hope, to enjoy the tranquillity of an age without technological refinements—in cave dwellings.—**B. BEVIS, 107 Hill Lane, Southampton.**

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WHEN I arrived back in South Africa three and a half years ago I found conditions so appalling that I reasoned they could not become any worse, and as nothing remains static they could only improve.

What a delusion! They have deteriorated with a rapidity that is as shaking as the deterioration itself.

The word "liberal" is a term of reproach. But do not for one moment think that we mind.

What we would do without the moral support and active practical aid from overseas we do not know. These things cannot be measured.

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Hiroshima Day must arouse world opinion

NEALY 15 years ago the air raid siren wailed in Hiroshima, Japan. There had been air raids before. . .

When the news broke on the morning of August 7 people sensed that a new age had begun. They recoiled from the grotesque and unlimited slaughter focused for them in one place, at one point of time by one finger on a button. They turned away, some to find diversions from the horror, some to work for a better age.

August 6 is Hiroshima Day. All over the world groups of people will be active to recall the 100,000 dead and to demand a constructive alternative for the future.

A special issue of Peace News will appear that week and we want it to be a special 12-page edition to mark the occasion.

Three thousand extra copies bought at 5s. per dozen will produce over £30 towards the extra printing costs of an enlarged issue.

Will you promise to circulate an extra dozen copies and so help to make Hiroshima Day a significant international event? Sell them to your friends, church or trade union contacts. Those who cannot sell can help by sending a donation for this special effort.

We believe there is at least one PN reader in each of the 450 nuclear disarmament groups in Britain. If you are one please make it your special task to get this Hiroshima Day PN to all your fellow members. Please send early orders for bulk supplies on sale or return if you have special local meetings.

To Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Please send me . . . dozen copies of August 6 issue at 5s. a dozen, sale or return.

NAME

ADDRESS

Things they say . . .

THE PRINCESS REGRETS

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PRODUCTION CONTINUES

Senator Kennedy . . . recently cited figures that would mean our arsenal now contains the equivalent of 1,250,000 bombs of the type that levelled Hiroshima. This was confirmed in substance by Thomas E. Murray, former Atomic Energy Commissioner, when he said we now have more than enough weapons to destroy the world.—William Hines in the *Washington Star*, June 13. Written into the Congressional Record (page A 5022) the following day.

NOT ONLY CHARITIES

It will be a pity if the Royal Tournament comes to an end because of insufficient support. Service charities benefit through its profits, but even more important is the image of service life presented to the public.—*The Guardian*, Fleet Street column, June 23.

MARCH OF THE MEGABOD

A hundred thousand people converging on Trafalgar Square is a sizeable fact. If they were stretched on the ground they would equal one-tenth of a megabod—American equivalent megacorpse.—*The Peacemaker* (Australia), May, 1960.

THE CONGO — WHAT NEXT?

Emergency Public Meeting, Friday, July 22nd, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

DR. HASTINGS BANDA (President, Malawi Congress Party, Nyasaland)
MAINZA CHONA (Dy. President, United National Independence Party, N. Rhodesia)

JOHN STONEHOUSE, M.P.

Chairman:

FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.

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Linus Pauling ● FROM PAGE ONE

in jail for appealing to the First Amendment.

Linus Pauling began speaking in public in 1945 "when war became too terrible." Recently he has been making about 100 addresses a year.

Besides these speeches, Dr. Pauling has written *No More War*, a book setting out the results of nuclear testing and of a possible World War III.

I asked Professor Pauling if he thought this picture had ever been challenged. No, it hadn't, he thought, and then added as an afterthought—"except by scientists employed by the Government." He had always tried to use Government sources whenever possible, however, and he thought this controversy was now "concluded." It was noteworthy that even men like Dr. Libby and Dr. Edward Teller had stopped urging megaton tests above ground.

"Have they climbed down?" I asked.

"No, Government spokesmen never climb down. They simply fade away."

The purpose of Gandhigram

by **HORACE ALEXANDER**

On December 11 a plane with about 70 passengers will leave Gatwick Airport for India. On board will be some of the 150 delegates from all over the world making for Gandhigram, the centre for the War Resisters' International Conference.

Among those who will be going will be Danilo Dolci, the Rev. Michael Scott, Abbé Carrette from Belgium, Bayard Rustin, one of the leaders of the struggle in the Deep South of the USA, and many others engaged in the struggle against war and for human rights.

Among the countries to be represented will be Norway, France, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Italy, USA, Eire, Belgium, Vietnam, Thailand, Australia, West Germany, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaya, Ceylon, Ghana, South Africa, Israel and the Philippines.

The youngest delegate is expected to be 17-year-old Gunter Rosendahl and the oldest Dr. H. Hartmann, aged 74; both are from West Germany, which is sending the largest national delegation.

Planning of the Conference is in the hands of a committee in India. Arlo Tatum, the general secretary of the War Resisters' International, leaves Britain for India tomorrow to join them in completing the arrangements. On his way he will be speaking in Ceylon at two universities and an ashram. Later he will spend four days at Indore with Vinoba Bhave.

Below Horace Alexander gives a brief account of Gandhigram, the venue for the Conference. It is a training centre for social workers who are following the Gandhi tradition.

GANDHIGRAM is in the Madurai district of South India. It is in comparatively low country, close to a railway line; but some of the beautiful South Indian hills, rising to 5,000 feet or more, rise from a few miles off and provide a lovely background for the scenery.

Gram in Hindi means a village, as all those who have been following Vinoba Bhave's work in recent years will know. Thus, *Gramdan*, which has now superseded *Bhoodan*, means the gift of a whole village, whereas *Bhoodan* was a gift of land. So that Gandhigram means Gandhi's village.

I believe it was with some hesitation that the founders took Gandhi's name when they started their work some ten years ago. And well they might hesitate; for who is worthy to take Gandhi's name? Yet the name is a perpetual challenge. Gandhi was the inspirer of those who started the project; and if they used his name they knew that for ever their work would have to stand up to the test: "Is it worthy of its name?" They wanted to have that perpetual challenge, so it became Gandhi's village, or at least one of

women become trained teachers for this new basic education. Today it is, I believe, turning out hundreds of such teachers year by year.

But today it also trains young men and women for a number of other services. In the past two or three years one of Vinoba's chief demands has been the development of "peace armies" of young people, trained to be peace-makers and peace-workers for all India, so as to dispense entirely with

the police and with coercive methods of peace preservation. Some of these *Shanti Sainiks*, or peace servants, are trained at Gandhigram.

Already, when I stayed there several years ago, the policing of the whole colony or several thousand people was undertaken by members of the community, who took turns to be the peaceful guardians of the village day by day, at all hours of the day. It must be appreciated that this is no sinecure job. In a country of such widespread poverty and unemployment as India it must be understood that theft is still very common. Calling a place Gandhigram gives it no magic protection from professional thieves or even bandits.

DEALING WITH THIEVES

Just how the peace volunteers deal with thieves or other violators of the peace in Gandhigram I do not know. Probably those who attend the WRI conference will be able to tell us more about that and other aspects of the life of Gandhigram when they return.

The head and chief founder of Gandhigram is a woman doctor from Madras, Dr. Soundaram. She and her husband, G. Ramachandran, built it up from its beginnings, and they have found a fine group of colleagues to work with them. G. Ramachandran is now secretary of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Gandhi Memorial Fund) in Delhi; but I suspect that his heart is still in Gandhigram, and he is glad to find good reasons for going there. He will be one of the hosts of the WRI meetings.

GHANA NOTEBOOK - II

By **Michael Randle**

Former chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, Michael Randle is in Accra, where he is helping to found a training centre in non-violence. This is the second of two articles.

THERE does seem to be a welcome improvement in the relations between Ghana and her immediate neighbour, the former French trust territory

down to earth" of the students who had hitherto tended to go about with both their heads and their feet in the clouds.

The ivory tower isolationism of the University is no myth. Its physical position as a self-contained community some eight miles from Accra weakens its contact with the town and helps create the illusion that it is something above, and apart from, the main stream of social and political life in Ghana. In an age of student revolutions it must surely be one of the most politically dead universities in the world. Up to now

New pacifism emerging

The view that a fresh body of pacifist opinion is emerging, one which eventually will become the overwhelming outlook of the movement, is expressed by the Editor in the current number of the War Resister.*

Describing what he terms a most promising, if unformulated, body of opinion, he writes, "I would say those who belong to it have become convinced that no single act—or refusal to act—and no single issue—however staggering its implications—suffices as a working basis for an effective pacifist movement. Narrow, old-fashioned war resistance is passé; marching for nuclear disarmament is more chic than radical.

"Let us work toward a movement which is more, rather than less, radical. Let's discover what thorough-going pacifism is, and what it involves. We know it means personal commitment beyond a refusal to kill. We know we must develop our own methods of social change, and of influencing public opinion by more than example; important as that is. But the little we know is pitifully inadequate."

"I personally feel that an effort to synthesise Gandhian and pacifist thought would be most useful, and it is for this reason that I look hopefully toward the Tenth Triennial Conference of the WRI next December at Gandhigram."

*No. 88, which features the problem of apartheid. 5s. a year from War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

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BASIC EDUCATION

One of the many new things that Gandhi helped to bring into being was "Nai Talim" or basic education, that is to say a new type of education designed to fit the village people of India to become better villagers, not to become disgruntled, poorly paid clerks in the towns and cities. Nai Talim is built around craft work.

Now you cannot revolutionise the educational system of a country until you have trained a number of teachers to teach according to the new way. Gandhigram, in the first place, is one of several important training centres where young men and

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THERE does seem to be a welcome improvement in the relations between Ghana and her immediate neighbour, the former French trust territory of Togoland.

This follows talks between Dr. Nkrumah and the Togo Prime Minister, Sylvannus Olympio, which have resulted in a mutual forbearance in public declarations on the tricky problem of the re-unification of the Ewe people, now separated by an arbitrary colonial boundary. They may also result in economic co-operation and the establishment of a functional unity which Dr. Nkrumah hopes will be followed at a later stage by complete integration—a final goal that he will not abandon.

CPP and intellectuals

A SIGNIFICANT move as the republic comes into being is the intensive drive to gain the allegiance for the ruling Convention People's Party of the one group in Ghana that has so far stood out against it—the intelligentsia.

The antipathy of the intellectuals has its origins in class antagonism. Until recent years the hard core of the intellectuals were wealthy Africans, and it was against this class as well as against the injustice of foreign rule that the popular rebellion, expressed in and through the CPP, was directed. (It is noteworthy, for instance, that the property of wealthy Africans did not escape in the riots that followed the shooting of nationalists at Christiansbourg crossroads in February, 1948).

The climax of the new campaign was the setting up last month at the University of Legon of a branch of the National Association of Socialist Student Organisations (NASSO, the CPP students' union). It was a big occasion as Dr. Nkrumah himself was present and gave an address.

He congratulated the students on the new move and said it represented a "coming

down to earth" of the students who had hitherto tended to go about with both their heads and their feet in the clouds.

The ivory tower isolationism of the University is no myth. Its physical position as a self-contained community some eight miles from Accra weakens its contact with the town and helps create the illusion that it is something above, and apart from, the main stream of social and political life in Ghana. In an age of student revolutions it must surely be one of the most politically dead universities in the world. Up to now its students have not organised themselves in any political groups, and the occasion of the French atom tests in the Sahara was unique in producing a student political demonstration.

It is to be hoped that the inauguration of NASSO at Legon will provoke a healthy atmosphere of political interest and controversy among the students and that dissident groups will not be discouraged from forming their own organisations. (One newspaper, however, has already made threatening noises about the ability of the Party to smash anti-CPP elements "down Legon and beyond.") It will certainly be a good thing for the CPP itself, too, if the new group provides it with an influx of critical and intelligent youth who can help to offset the dangerous tendencies of some of its followers to start a Messianic cult of "Nkrumahism" which sometimes borders on religious hysteria.

India and non-alignment

KRISHNA MENON, India's Defence Minister, has been here to represent his country at the Republic Celebrations. I took the opportunity of a short press conference on his arrival to question him about India's non-alignment policy.

I pointed out the statement by a former Governor-General of India and renowned nationalist, C. Rajagopalachari, that India should ally herself with the West against Communism (as reported in *Peace News*) and asked whether he thought this point of view was gaining ground in India.

He replied that he had not seen the statement referred to, but that the Indian Government stood firmly by its policy of non-alignment in the Cold War. The recent border troubles with China, he said, only served to emphasise the wisdom of this.

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During next week we ask every reader to go to their local library reading room and ask if Peace News is displayed there. Our last check-up, in 1958, showed the paper obtainable in 130 reading rooms. In Islington, N. London, library, it is one of the few papers picked out for special display, but in some other libraries we depend on one or two friends who visit the reading room, ask for the paper and then leave it out on the table for others to see. A little bit of peace work that is invaluable.

In Truro, Cornwall, where Peace News has been banned from the library for some years now, the issue is still a live one, and the Mayor of Truro was tackled on this question only a few weeks ago at a public meeting.

Make it your job next week to visit the local library. If Peace News is available, but not on show, leave it out for others to read after you. Make a habit of calling regularly to get the paper out into the public eye! If PN isn't there your local Library Committee should be pressed to provide it. A letter, preferably signed by a number of ratepayers and with a copy of the paper enclosed, should be sent to the librarian. Ask for the matter to be put on the Agenda of the next Libraries Committee Meeting.

An offer of free supply sometimes assures a favourable decision, but your library can easily obtain Peace News with the other papers it gets from a local news-agent.

Send a card with the result of your enquiries. If the answer isn't "Yes" yet, we shall look forward to a later card announcing your success.

A £1 note pays for a year's gift subscription to a library.

A FEW weeks ago I went to one of the most unusual "lectures" I have yet attended. It took place in a small art gallery in the basement of a dry cleaners' in Sloane Street, London.

The room was quite well filled with people, including one or two foreign press representatives. It was also full of a strange variety of *objets d'art*, ranging from some fairly realistic paintings (presumably the normal furnishing of the gallery) to a polythene bag full of multi-coloured cast-off scraps of material from a milliner's, and a gleaming heap of metal rod devices salvaged from some machine-tool factory.

This was the setting for Gustav Metzger's lecture-cum-demonstration on auto-destructive art. To grasp the significance of his theories it is useful to know something about Gustav Metzger himself, for his political views and his artistic theories are related, and to some extent impinge on each other.

Gustav Metzger is a Polish Jew whose parents were liquidated by the Germans during World War II. He was sent away to England in time to escape the same fate; and is now, by choice, a "stateless" person. It is not perhaps surprising that someone with this background should be concerned with the problem of destruction and destructiveness.

Art with a message

He is also an active campaigner for nuclear disarmament. I myself walked into London beside him at the end of last year's Aldermaston March. He took part in the Stevenage campaign against missile manufacture a year ago; and back in the early days of the campaign stood up on a soap box to address the stall-holders of Watton Market. Inevitably the art of such a person carries a social message.

The lecture was prefaced by a brief description of the work of Jean Tinguely, whose masterpiece "Homage to New York" was on show recently in the New York Museum of Modern Art. It was not a piece of sculpture in the ordinary sense of the word—it was an arrangement of mechanical devices, including bicycle wheels, fire extinguishers and various noisy and musical instruments which, when set in motion, within a short space of time destroyed itself completely. It was "auto-destructive." Gustav Metzger is clearly one of the same school as Tinguely; though perhaps he is less fundamentally destructive.

It was, I suppose, a very bad lecture—though somehow this did not seem to

Auto-destructive art

by PAT ARROWSMITH

Field Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

doors the effect of wind and rain on such material would inevitably lead to its ultimate destruction. Alternatively, the sculpture might be constructed in such a way that periodically a portion of it could be removed, until in the end there was nothing left. In other words, the essential characteristic of auto-destructive art is that the artistic object created should eventually cease to exist.

Gustav Metzger may well be right when he says that this sort of art would shock the general public. For in a symbolic way it would demonstrate the current state of society: a society whose basic ingredients are such that it seems all too likely to end up by destroying itself. People do not like to be reminded of this sort of thing. They might not all consciously grasp the fundamental meaning of such an art form; but unconsciously they might, and be inclined to resist it. So in Gustav Metzger's opinion auto-destructive art would be "subversive": it would be a way of challenging society and shocking people out of their complacency.

The general public would ask why such a sculpture had been set up; why so much time and trouble had been spent on something which was bound to disintegrate. The implicit response to such a question would, in Gustav Metzger's view, be: "Why is so much time and money spent on manufacturing bombers?"

Painting with acid

But Gustav Metzger is primarily an artist, not a political philosopher; and this became apparent during the second half of his "lecture"—the demonstration. Like a stage-set behind him as he lectured was a large pane of glass slung from the ceiling, with a sheet of nylon stretched behind it. Metzger put on a pair of motor-cycling goggles, took out a paint brush and a pot of acid, and proceeded to "paint" a picture on the sheet of nylon.

The general effect was rather like a con-

demonstration of auto-destructive art. For although the acid strokes burnt away the fabric to such an extent that soon little of the nylon was left, yet before the material disintegrated a painting indeed did appear; for the rips and holes burnt in the nylon composed an ever-changing, interesting abstract design.

And this was where the logic of Metzger's theory faltered. Clearly he is not solely concerned with symbolism and with the ultimate destruction of the object created. He is also concerned with purely aesthetic values, some of them only tenuously linked with the idea of auto-destructive art. For instance, he is very interested in movement, and suggested setting up a sculpture which should comprise several forms that could constantly be moved about so that the viewer saw them standing in a

A. J. MUSTE

This is the second in a series of short profiles of American radicals and pacifists by Douglas Gorsline.

A. J. MUSTE was born in the Netherlands 75 years ago at Zieriksee, in the Province of Zeeland. At the age of six he accompanied his family when they emigrated from their homeland, and settled in Michigan, at Grand Rapids.

He attended schools there and went to Hope College, a Dutch Reformed institution; and later the Dutch Reformed Seminary. His dedication to theology had always been taken for granted in his family. He soon went on to pastorates in New Jersey and Long Island. He retained pastorates in various places until the First World War, when he resigned in order to prevent the breaking up of his church, near Boston, because of his pacifist views. Since that time he has

different relation to each other and catching the light at different angles.

He thinks it important that artists should try also to be technicians (if necessary going to work in factories for a time) so that they should have the skill to employ competently all the metals and chemicals of modern technology when creating works of art.

None of this seems to have much direct connection with auto-destructive art—as probably Gustav Metzger himself realised; for at one stage he referred to "auto-constructive" art and explained how closely related it was to auto-destructive art. He pointed out that as a metal sculpture decayed through corrosion it would be an ever-changing object, potentially beautiful at every stage of its disintegration. Such a sculpture might even be constructed with such technical skill that the sculptor would be able to gauge the rate and pattern of corrosion and so ensure that his work of art was always aesthetically satisfying until it finally vanished.

So Gustav Metzger is not logical: a self-destructing society should not look beautiful at any stage. But nor is he a nihilist—and this is important. The value of his constructive ideas and positive approach outweigh the failure of logic. Society is all too full today of apathetic and despairing people whose only values are negative.



The lecture was prefaced by a brief description of the work of Jean Tinguely, whose masterpiece "Homage to New York" was on show recently in the New York Museum of Modern Art. It was not a piece of sculpture in the ordinary sense of the word—it was an arrangement of mechanical devices, including bicycle wheels, fire extinguishers and various noisy and musical instruments which, when set in motion, within a short space of time destroyed itself completely. It was "auto-destructive." Gustav Metzger is clearly one of the same school as Tinguely; though perhaps he is less fundamentally destructive.

It was, I suppose, a very bad lecture—though somehow this did not seem to matter. Gustav Metzger's rather hesitant inconsequential delivery could not conceal the sincerity he felt about his subject. Indeed, his occasional fits of mental aberration and need to refer to his notes seemed in a curious way to emphasise rather than detract from his sincerity.

His artistic theories should be of interest to anyone concerned about the problems of present day society. His aim, put concisely, is to be able to set up in a public place a piece of sculpture of abstract design composed of materials which are bound in time to decay or disintegrate.

If, for instance, the sculpture were made of some corrosive metal and set up out-of-

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The general effect was rather like a conjuring performance. There on a table in front of us were the various objects Metzger had used to illustrate his lecture: small component parts of machines, intricately designed pieces of cardboard and the model of his proposed sculpture made in miniature out of staples. Now we discerned him faintly as he moved about mysteriously behind the nylon screen collecting his materials together, then boldly painting his acid "picture" with vigorous sweeping brush strokes. Anyone who had come in at that moment and not heard the first part of the lecture might have assumed that this was a demonstration of "action painting."

But this painting was only partly a

land. At the age of six he accompanied his family when they emigrated from their homeland, and settled in Michigan, at Grand Rapids.

He attended schools there and went to Hope College, a Dutch Reformed institution, and later the Dutch Reformed Seminary. His dedication to theology had always been taken for granted in his family. He soon went on to pastorates in New Jersey and Long Island. He retained pastorates in various places until the First World War, when he resigned in order to prevent the breaking up of his church, near Boston, because of his pacifist views. Since that time he has been actively engaged in striving for the cause in other forums.

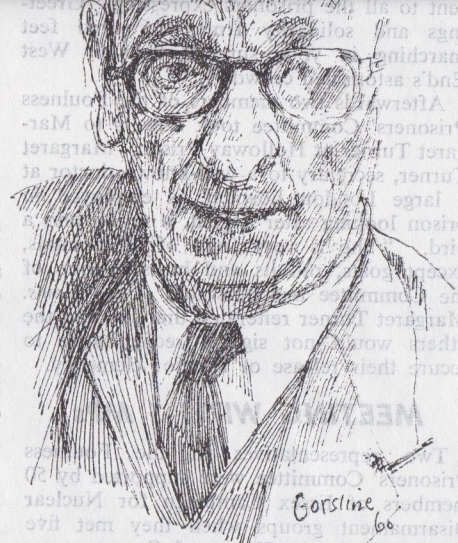
Mr. Muste has always been profoundly radical in his attitude in the Christian pacifist struggle, and his life is a record of his single-minded progression along this path. He first was influenced by observation of slum conditions when, as a young pastor, he was exposed to them in New York City. Then, with the First World War, he felt impelled to take a firm stand on the right of a citizen to object conscientiously to war service. The following years were spent in Civil Liberties activities in their behalf.

RECONVERSION

In the Thirties he took a Marxist position in that part of the Party opposed to the Stalinist drift. Mr. Muste took this position because it seemed to him at the time that it represented the nearest approach to some of those principles to which he had devoted his life. However, after leading the losing fight within the Party for these principles, he concluded that this would not be the best medium through which he could accomplish his personal ends.

In 1936 he experienced what he calls a re-conversion to his original Christian pacifist beliefs, and decided that in the Fellowship of Reconciliation he would find his best forum of action. Since that time he has been the prime mover in the FoR.

Today his activities might be described as divided between the War Resisters League, formed to register those COs without a Christian persuasion, the FoR, the mother organisation, and the Congress of Racial Equality, formed as a direct arm in the integration struggle. Set up after the last war, CORE early had many brilliant adherents, including



George Houser, Caleb Foote, James Farmer, A. Philip Randolph, and Bayard Rustin.

Mr. Muste's unique position in the American radical scene cannot be over-emphasised. His devotion to the Christian pacifist conviction has carried him through all the myriad events which tumbled over one another from 1912, when he voted for Eugene V. Debs, through two world wars, reaction, liberalism, states righters, Wobblies, Roosevelt, segregation, integration, the Communist Party, McCarthy, and, perhaps worst of all, Eisenhower. All these pressures and many more seem to have proved the validity of Muste's original convictions.

Today the CP looks enviously at the non-violent movement generally, and at the FoR, the WRL, and CORE in particular, as representing the active radical effort in America. Their members are constantly in action, whether it be the Civil Defence protest, Negro integration, or nuclear protests. All of these non-violent, pacifist houses are built on the rock of Muste's ethic. It is on this line that Americans, increasingly aware of the radical imperative, may confidently act.

At the moment Mr. Muste feels that the English and American radicals are at a critical point. Supposing next year there were 75,000 nuclear protestants in New York, and 500,000 in Trafalgar Square in London? What happens then? Or will the recent frustrating events reduce these ranks of their potential? The question seems to be, will events force more people to adopt a radical attitude, or less?

The future of the Left? Read:

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Britain's Role in a Changing World, Kenneth Younger 2s. 6d.

The Socialist Imagination, Wayland and Elizabeth Young 2s. 0d.

(Socialism in the Sixties)

all from

The Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, S.W.1



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Support for Foulness prisoners

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

OVER fifty people marched through London's West End last Saturday behind the "Operation Foulness" banner in the third demonstration in support of the prisoners jailed for six months on May 2 for obstructing the entrance to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Foulness.

Leading the march was Jeffrey Holden, who was released on May 31 after serving one month's imprisonment for his part in the demonstration.

A loudspeaker van announced the purpose of the march to the crowds of shoppers and sight-seers whilst leaflets urging support for the prisoners' action and advertising the next direct action demonstration at Finningley on July 30 were distributed. Among the slogans carried by marchers were "Six Months for Foulness Demonstration" and "Six Months or Life."

At the end of the march telegrams were sent to all the prisoners expressing "Greetings and solidarity from 106 tired feet marching in your support through West End's astonished crowds."

Afterwards two members of the Foulness Prisoners' Committee took flowers to Margaret Turner at Holloway Prison. Margaret Turner, secretary to a well-known doctor at a large London hospital, is employed in prison looking after a goat, a rabbit and a bird. "She is very fond of all animals, except goats, rabbits and birds!" one of the Committee members told *Peace News*. Margaret Turner reiterated that she and the others would not sign a recognisance to secure their release or ask for clemency.

MEETING WITH 5 MPs

Archdeacon, ministers, MP, miners . . . SUPPORT SNOWBALLS FOR YORKSHIRE BOMBER BASE PROTEST

Peace News Reporter

LAST week-end 29 supporters of the Northern Direct Action Committee leafleted the Doncaster (Yorks) area in preparation for the non-violent civil disobedience demonstration, "Operation Finningley," which takes place on July 30 at Finningley H-bomber base six miles from Doncaster.

The number of leaflets distributed in field work so far amounts to 75,000. "In the next 10 days we hope to distribute another 25,000," John Cartwright, NDAC member told *Peace News* on Tuesday.

Thirteen of fifteen Free Church ministers in the Doncaster area have issued a press statement in support of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and calling on people to join the supporters' march at the Finningley demonstration.

Asked to resign

The Rev. Whitfield Raine, of Thorne, near Doncaster, Yorks, has been asked to give up the chaplaincy of the RAF station at Lindholme because of his opposition to nuclear weapons.

Four branches of the National Union of Mineworkers have declared their support for the march whilst one has donated five guineas to the NDAC funds. Others who will be marching include the Archdeacon of Doncaster, Leonard Barnet, Methodist and Free Church leader, and Dick Kelly, Labour MP for Don Valley.

To-morrow (Saturday) there will be a poster parade through Doncaster, to be followed on Sunday by leafleting of the married quarters at the air base on Air Ministry property. Assuming no arrests at this stage there will be a round-the-clock vigil outside the air base till the civil disobedience action at noon on Saturday, July 30.

To date 30 volunteers have committed themselves to this action. Enquiries should be addressed to the Northern Direct Action Committee, c/o 32 Windsor Rd., Doncaster.

U.S. special agents film demonstrators



The crowds turned out at London's Hyde Park last Sunday to hear the case against the nuclear bases in Britain from one of which the RB-47 spy plane took off and was shot down near Russia on July 1. The speaker in the picture is John Horner.

Photo: Will Green

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE shooting down by Russia of the RB-47 reconnaissance aircraft triggered off two Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstrations in Britain last week-end.

The demonstration at Brize Norton United States Air Force Base (near Oxford) from which the RB-47 took off was designed to focus attention on the danger of American bases on British soil and the complete uselessness of the nuclear deterrent. A similar demonstration was held the

—each demonstrator's face being carefully filmed for several minutes at a time."

A march in the afternoon was supported by several hundred students, factory workers, housewives, professional people and three Oxford City Councillors, Edmund and Olive Gibbs and Bill Fag. None had received more than two days notice of the action. The route lay through several Oxfordshire villages to Witney where, on the Church Green marchers listened to Canon L. John Collins, CND Chairman; Jacquetta Hawkes; Dr. Antoinette Pirie; and three local people, John Ennals, the

sent to all the prisoners expressing "Greetings and solidarity from 106 tired feet marching in your support through West End's astonished crowds."

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MEETING WITH 5 MPs

Two representatives of the Foulness Prisoners' Committee were supported by 50 members of Essex Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups when they met five Essex MPs in the House of Commons recently to discuss the position of the prisoners and Government policy which led to this situation.

It was agreed that the Home Secretary be asked to receive a deputation. Mr. Ted Redhead, MP, undertook to approach Mr. Butler and to lead it.

It was pointed out by the Foulness Prisoners' Committee that since the prisoners, by their principles of non-violent resistance, would not appeal or ask for clemency this imposed a stronger not lesser duty on the Home Secretary to consider the matter and not to avoid justice on the pretext that a defendant had not personally appealed against his sentence.

It had been complained that the prisoners' demonstration had cost the police £100 which was "intolerable," but no mention had been made of the £100,000,000 wasted on the Blue Streak missile which had been scrapped. Other MPs present included Tom Driberg (Barking), Ron Ledger (Romford), John Parker (Dagenham) and R. W. Sorensen (Leyton).

"The prisoners at Stafford are in good spirits and have been permitted to hold a Quaker meeting for worship each Sunday unattended," W. Arthur Robinson, Quaker prison visitor, told *Peace News* on Monday. Last week they sent a telegram of greetings and support to Canon Collins in time for the Brize Norton march organised by the Oxford Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on Saturday.

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U.S. protesters at 'Submarine Capital'

THE shipyards at New London, Connecticut, which produce America's missile-firing Polaris submarines are being picketed once again by members of the Committee for Non-violent Action.

The pacifist group is conducting a summer-long protest and endeavouring to communicate with workers about the danger to world peace inherent in the weapons they help to produce.

The group last visited the yards on June 18 at the conclusion of a peace walk of over 100 miles from New York to New London.

The old borough of Groton, in which the shipyards are situated, calls itself "The Submarine Capital of the World," and the people living there draw most of their income, pride and prestige from building the vessels. They turned on the marchers when they arrived last June and destroyed their signs and leaflets, which bore the "ND" symbol familiar to Aldermaston marchers in Britain.

Another CNVA group are walking along the New England coast, holding public meetings on the way. They aim to go as far north at Portland, Maine, before returning to Boston, Mass, on August 4 to participate in a second peace walk to the submarine yards at New London.

On August 15 some CNVA followers are expected to participate in non-violent civil disobedience at the shipyard "to dispel public apathy about the arms race."

in the picture is John Horner.

Photo: Will Green

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From Brize Norton, Olive Gibbs, Secretary of the Oxford CND, reported:

"We began with a dozen people or more, men, women and children, standing on vigil outside the base for four hours. For most of that time they were being filmed by American special agents

—each demonstrator's face being carefully filmed for several minutes at a time."

A march in the afternoon was supported by several hundred students, factory workers, housewives, professional people and three Oxford City Councillors, Edmund and Olive Gibbs and Bill Fag. None had received more than two days notice of the action. The route lay through several Oxfordshire villages to Witney where, on the Church Green marchers listened to Canon L. John Collins, CND Chairman; Jacquetta Hawkes; Dr. Antoinette Pirie; and three local people, John Ennals, the Rev. T. E. Bailey, Methodist minister of nearby Bampton, and E. A. Timms, Chairman of the Brize Norton Parish Council.

At Hyde Park large crowds gathered to hear John Horner, Dr. Donald Soper and Stephen Swinger, MP.

CHRIS KERSHAW

Chris Kershaw, a young Quaker and keen direct action supporter, was killed in a road accident on July 15 whilst hitch-hiking north to see a friend. During the Direct Action Committee's demonstration at North Pickenham in December, 1958, he sustained an eye injury. He recently left employment with a Cheshire home for incurables.

A memorial service was to be held in Colchester Friends Meeting House on Wednesday as *Peace News* went to press.

PRESIDENT OF THE NDC

Lord Boyd-Orr was re-elected President of the British National Peace Council at its Annual General Meeting last week.

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This is easily the most ambitious North-East Region CND activity yet—costs are estimated at £300—but Campaigners are confident.

Earlier, on August 22 at Newcastle's Connaught Hall, Denis Matthews will give a concert to raise funds for the September meeting. Tickets for the concert at 8 p.m. are priced 10s. 6d. and 5s.

Meanwhile, next week, during the last few days of the Scottish holiday, the local Whitley Bay CND will launch a week's activity—July 23-30—in their packed resort. Open-air meetings are to be held on the sea front every evening and it is planned to have a bookstall in the town centre.

Factory campaigns at H-bomber works

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DEMONSTRATORS picketed and leafleted the works of Bristol Siddeley Engines and Bristol Aircraft Ltd. in Bristol daily from July 11-16 in the first week of the industrial campaign organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

The industrial campaign is being operated at a number of firms which make components for Britain's H-bomber force.

Informal open-air meetings have developed at Bristol Aircraft works' gates which have become "a miniature Hyde Park Speakers' Corner" the campaign organiser told *Peace News* on Monday. Demonstrators have been involved in lunch-hour discussions with the workers. The week's activities were wound up by a poster parade through the town last Saturday.

Leafleting and canvassing has been done in Filton and Clifton near Bristol and in the local pubs. One hundred people have signed a petition to the Bristol Aircraft management urging them to convert the firm to peaceful uses.

A final rally of the campaign on September 3 is being organised by the Bristol Peace Council. The Bristol Trades Council has agreed to delegate two members to sit on the planning committee of the rally.

The local Plumbers' Trade Union branch has agreed to support the campaign at Bristol Aircraft Ltd., where shop stewards have agreed to put before the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee suggestions for the conversion of the factory to peaceful work. The Committee will also consider organising a factory gate meeting to be addressed by campaigners.

As a result of meetings with Amalgamated Engineering Union shop stewards at the Bristol Siddeley Engines works the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee has agreed to circulate notices of factory gate meetings organised by the campaign. The majority of trade unionists met by campaigners so far have been sympathetic. The agents for the Bristol and South Gloucester Labour

Refuses to reveal names in Bomb-test petition

by CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

FALL-OUT FROM THE FIRST SUPER-BOMB EXPLOSION—AT BIKINI IN 1954—COVERED 7,000 SQUARE MILES OF THE PACIFIC. THREE HUNDRED SUCH BOMBS WOULD KILL EVERYONE IN THE UNITED STATES AND 4,000 WOULD DESTROY EVERYONE ON EARTH.

Facts such as these, complete with sources and explanations, poured from Dr. Linus Pauling, the American scientist and Nobel Prize winner, when he spoke in London last Sunday evening.

—'we' being the people of all nations.

"The only solution that I can see is that we give up war."

Nobody, he added, had paid much attention to Einstein ten years earlier when he had come to that conclusion. Now that the weapons were 1,000 times more powerful, however, people were beginning to listen.

At the end of his speech—on "Why the World Must Achieve Total Disarmament"—to a crowded St. Pancras Town Hall, Professor Pauling received a standing ovation.

The meeting was organised by the British Peace Committee, section of the World Peace Council. At a press conference earlier Dr. Pauling had explained that he speaks on any platform, makes no enquiries about its programme and always says much the same thing. He is a multilateralist, he insists, and has never urged unilateral action by any Power. Indeed, such action by Russia or America could be very dangerous.

Mass petition

In 1957 Dr. Pauling organised a mass petition to the United Nations of 11,021 scientists from 49 countries urging an international ban on nuclear tests. For this he has been subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He intends to appear ("I am an educator and I don't mind educating the Senate on nuclear war") but he refuses to divulge the



At Bristol aircraft works.

Photo: Bristol Evening Post

Russians speed-up missile programme

Peace News Reporter

RUSSIA now has ten fully operative long-range missile bases inside Soviet territory ready for firing 6,000-mile inter-continental missiles with H-bomb

Although no one was allowed through the entrance gate to the "Fen" youth group members went over the wire at the rear and came out of the main gate several times. Police guards did not object.

The exercise consisted of two bonfires which represented the fireball of an H-bomb which had caused five casualties. At 9 p.m. two of these were still unbound, and being dug for, the three others having been dealt with. The CD dispatch rider who rode unscathed several times through radiation and fall-out unprotected was congratulated on each occasion by Mr. Clark through his loudhailer.

A MIXED BAG

THAT part of the postman's bag which contains correspondence about the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund often provides interesting reading. One letter recently suggested that I ought not to have to spend time and thought on appealing for money, and that by giving regular subscriptions members ought to make constant appeals unnecessary. But the writer did kindly enclose a birthday present. It would, of course, be more satisfactory in many ways if we had a list of voluntary annual subscribers large enough to make other appeals unnecessary. If you are not a subscriber we invite you to become so here and now, and will send you the appropriate form on request.

But there are some members who are reluctant to make even a provisional promise of a regular yearly sum, and prefer to give in response to the PPU's Annual Appeal. Nevertheless, if all non-subscribers responded to the Annual Appeal we should not have to rely on Headquarters Fund. And, by the way, have you put your response to the Annual Appeal in the post-bag yet?

As it is these fortnightly appeals serve as a reminder or strike a special chord. One member sends in a substantial sum about four times a year as he saves up to help the PPU. Several old age pensioners put many of us to shame with the 10s, they send out of their very limited income. Others send a gift to commemorate an anniversary or in memory of a friend. Have you any anniversary this month?

From time to time one of our old friends sends a cheque for £5 or £10 as recently. And then again suddenly and unexpectedly out of the blue will come a gift like the cheque for £150 which arrived this week from someone who though not a member

The letter warns of the relentless march of the Sahara; a challenge not only to the people of France and her colonies, but to every human being.

"To stop it and push it back along a 20,000 mile front may require 20 million workers. That would be an army equal to the present standing armies of all the nations of the world, for the Sahara is the largest desert in the world. It covers an area bigger than the United States and it is relentlessly advancing, year by year, month by month, hour by hour.

"As you are fully aware the great weapon in this battle against the desert is trees. Trees will hold the sands and keep them from drifting; trees will produce the life-giving humus and clothe the bare rocks; trees will precipitate moisture for they are an essential link in the water cycle; trees will produce shelter, fuel and food."

MILLIONS OF ACRES LOST

Speaking on this subject in New Zealand last month, Richard St. Barbe Baker warned that all the deserts of the world were on the march. Millions of acres of rich farm lands were being lost as the result of the wholesale destruction of trees and forests.

He appealed for a World Tree Planting Year and expressed the hope that such a proposal would be taken up by the Fifth World Forestry Congress.

A World Tree Planting Year would not be just a matter of ceremonial planting, but of large-scale afforestation, with extensive and intensive study of the latest scientific methods of land reclamation by tree planting.

Such a programme, *Peace News* was told by Mr. A. R. Heaver, Editor of *Trees and Life*, would greatly increase the wealth of China through Gobi Desert afforestation

No sign of our 'very own bomb'

THE collapse of the summit talks rubs home three lessons which the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has always sought to teach, says the June CND Bulletin:

1. The nuclear arms race, along with the lunacies which it entails, including the U-2 flights—is itself a prime cause of distrust and tension and a barrier to fruitful negotiation.

upon de-salting of sea water, a problem on which governments are already believed to be spending thousands of millions of pounds in research for a solution.

It was on June 22, 38 years ago, that Richard St. Barbe Baker launched his "Men of the Trees" movement from a camp in Kenya.

Finningley protest



Three members of the Northern Direct Action Committee (left to right: John Cartwright, Mary Ringsleben and Carol Taylor) with the Operation Finningley banner which will be carried by demonstrators on the next direct action demonstration at Finningley H-bomber base near Doncaster on July 30. The Yorkshire Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is to march from Finningley to Doncaster in a supporting demonstration. Address of the Northern Direct Action Committee secretary, Mary Ringsleben, is 24 Regent Park Terrace, Leeds 6.

Philippine Government gets 'end tests' call

A RESOLUTION urging the Philippine Government to work for disarmament and the banning of further nuclear tests has been adopted in Manila by a committee

age the fate of the world is in the hands of only a few people: that a button can be pressed inadvertently and that war can be started by mistake.

According to *The Sunday Times* front page article entitled "Keys to the Destiny of the World" the launching of atomic warhead rockets can only take place if two keys, held by two separate persons, are inserted in a lock at the same time. These persons can only receive their orders to insert and turn the keys marked "War" from the President of the USA and the British Prime Minister.

What happens if the orders are to turn the key of Peace is not mentioned. Perhaps the lock stands ready at "Peace" until it is turned to "War," in which case the present conditions of tension, threats, building up of nuclear weapons, and the "cold war" is apparently to be designated as "Peace!"

It is this misunderstanding of what is really meant by the word that is at the root of a great deal of useless argument and baffling answers, not only in the House of Commons, but among ordinary people asking for some assurance for the future.

It is not "security" to be poised always upon the brink of an abyss; it is not "peace" to be standing always upon the edge of war. Peace cannot have as its foundations arsenals of rockets, bombs and ballistic missiles; it can only have as its basis humanity, integrity, tolerance and goodwill. No rocket in the world can be made up of such constituents.

It is nothing new that the final decision is taken by the heads of states for that has always been so; nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that even the heads of states must sometimes bow to the wind of public demand. The Prime Minister cannot give the word to turn the key to "War" if the country is shouting for "Peace"; but it is futile to shout for "Peace" unless it is fully understood what this means.

It does not mean blustering at the Conference table, demanding pledges from others and not giving any, nor does it mean asking for agreement on control and inspection of masses of armaments; it means establishing trust by unilateral action. It does not mean holding the so-called "deterrent" as a threat; it means pulling out the key marked "War" and throwing it away.

The military officers entrusted with the keys are no doubt chosen for their lack of imagination, and ability to take orders without question, whether it be to turn on the gas in the gas chamber, or turn on the tap of total destruction.

and more war has become violence at a cost, regardless of the injuries inflicted on civilians, women, children and prisoners.

Eugene Kinkead points out in **WHY THEY COLLABORATED** that US soldiers were often grievously treated in British camps during the American Revolution, in both Union and Confederate camps during the Civil War, and in Japanese camps during World War II without any wholesale breakdown

At the end of that war 21 Americans decided to remain with the Communists. One out of three US soldiers collaborated in one way or another with the Chinese. The degree of collaboration varied, of course, ranging from the writing of anti-American propaganda and informing on their fellow-prisoners to the relatively small offence of broadcasting Christmas greetings home and so putting the Communists in a favourable light.

men by throwing them out into the snow. Still another important fact is that 38 per cent—2,730 men out of 7,190—actually died in captivity, a higher PoW death-rate than in any war in which the United States had been previously engaged.

As Mr. Kinkead remarks, the American public has tended to attribute these disturbing facts solely to Communist cruelty, and in particular to some kind of almost magically evil process loosely called “brainwashing.” That explanation is certainly not accepted by the Army authorities, who made an exhaustive study, based on intensive questioning, of returned prisoners. This investigation into what really happened in the camps, carried out for the most part by skilled interrogators and psychiatrists, probed deeply into many aspects of American society: the upbringing of children, education, physical fitness, religious belief, and the high standard of living in the US.

For the detailed Army study nearly 4,000 case histories were put together and carefully examined. The investigation started in the late summer of 1950 and ended in July, 1955, two years after the signing of the Panmunjom armistice. As a result President Eisenhower promulgated a new Code of Conduct for members of the Armed Forces, setting forth the duties and obligations of captured fighting men. Key phrases from this Code run:

“I will make every effort to escape. . . If I become a prisoner of war I will keep faith with my fellow prisoners. . . I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause. . . I will trust in my God and the United States of America.”

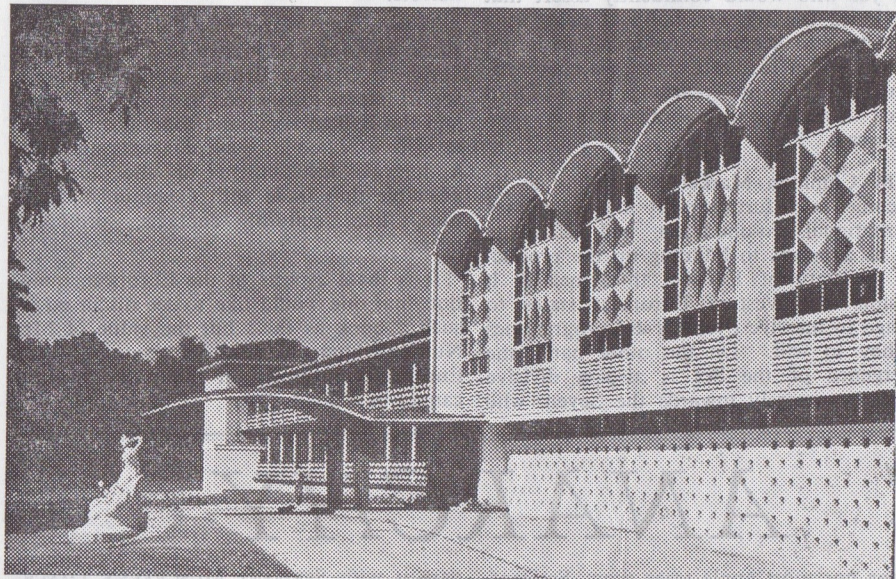
The US Army defines “brainwashing” as a process that will produce obvious character changes. This alteration may be brought about by hypnosis, drugs, physical torture or extreme mental pressure, so that the subject of “treatment” ceases to be the person he was. So far as we know these techniques were *not* used on US PoWs—in fact, they would have been in conflict with the avowedly “lenient” policy of the Chinese. Not only that, they would have had the effect of uniting the Americans against their jailors.

OUR REVIEWERS

DAVID BOULTON, of *Tribune's* staff, is a member of the Christian Socialist Movement.

B. G. COOPER is engaged on research at

Man and want



“UN organisations have made an impressive beginning” fighting want and ignorance. Above: A technical high school, part of the “Greater Rangoon” project, which a UN expert helped to plan.

FRANK LEES reviews

People, Space, Food, by A McCormack. Sheed and Ward. 9s.

THE Food and Agriculture Organisation has just launched its “Free the World from Hunger” year. The publication of **PEOPLE, SPACE, FOOD** by Arthur McCormack is a timely curtain-raiser to the UN campaign. The author is a Catholic who has spent a considerable part of his life working in Africa.

There have in recent years been a number of neo-Malthusian forecasts of the gloomy prospect facing the world if present trends in population growth continue. The official UN estimate is that the world population will have more than doubled by the year 2000. Moreover, the increase is

problems either solved or certainly capable of solution, but the work of the UN agencies throughout the world shows that there are few political problems which are insoluble if the resources are available. It is noticeable that UN reports are in general optimistic.

Inevitably the question of birth control receives prominence. Its advocates usually agree that it is necessary to increase food production, but argue that population control should supplement this. This case obviously stands or falls on whether limited resources are best used in spreading birth control or improved agriculture, for both approaches require similar resources—skilled village workers and considerable government expenditure.

and a full-time programme of indoctrination” in Marxism. Men between 18 and 24 of good intelligence but little formal education were most effectively indoctrinated.

Mr. Kinkead devotes a whole chapter to a consideration of the contrasting attitude of the captured Turks. Out of 229 Turks not one died in captivity, although almost half of them had been injured in battle. When a Turk fell sick his comrades nursed him back to health. They divided food in equal portions “down to the last morsel.”

Only two of them committed a minor act of collaboration, and these two were ostracised by the others for the rest of their period of imprisonment. The British PoWs were less successful than the Turks in resisting indoctrination, but less prone to collaboration than the Americans.

Eugene Kinkead tells his story interestingly, although he relies too much, perhaps, on official sources for his information and indeed his interpretation of what happened. His book is a challenging document which must make us all wonder how we ourselves would behave in similar circumstances. It also proves that George Orwell’s nightmareish NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR world is already upon us. Everyone interested in the ideas underlying East-West tension ought to read **WHY THEY COLLABORATED**.

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GOD’S BUSINESS

Christian Opinion on some

during World War II. He was sent away to England in time to escape the same fate; and is now, by choice, a "stateless" person. It is not perhaps surprising that someone with this background should be concerned with the problem of destruction and destructiveness.

Art with a message

He is also an active campaigner for nuclear disarmament. I myself walked into London beside him at the end of last year's Aldermaston March. He took part in the Stevenage campaign against missile manufacture a year ago; and back in the early days of the campaign stood up on a soap box to address the stall-holders of Watton Market. Inevitably the art of such a person carries a social message.

The lecture was prefaced by a brief description of the work of Jean Tinguely, whose masterpiece "Homage to New York" was on show recently in the New York Museum of Modern Art. It was not a piece of sculpture in the ordinary sense of the word—it was an arrangement of mechanical devices, including bicycle wheels, fire extinguishers and various noisy and musical instruments which, when set in motion, within a short space of time destroyed itself completely. It was "auto-destructive." Gustav Metzger is clearly one of the same school as Tinguely; though perhaps he is less fundamentally destructive.

It was, I suppose, a very bad lecture—though somehow this did not seem to matter. Gustav Metzger's rather hesitant inconsequential delivery could not conceal the sincerity he felt about his subject. Indeed, his occasional fits of mental aberration and need to refer to his notes seemed in a curious way to emphasise rather than detract from his sincerity.

His artistic theories should be of interest to anyone concerned about the problems of present day society. His aim, put concisely, is to be able to set up in a public place a piece of sculpture of abstract design composed of materials which are bound in time to decay or disintegrate.

If, for instance, the sculpture were made of some corrosive metal and set up out-of-

side, it would be destroyed by the elements and with the ultimate destruction of the object created. He is also concerned with purely aesthetic values, some of them only tenuously linked with the idea of auto-destructive art. For instance, he is very interested in movement, and suggested setting up a sculpture which should comprise several forms that could constantly be moved about so that the viewer saw them standing in a

The general public would ask why such a sculpture had been set up; why so much time and trouble had been spent on something which was bound to disintegrate. The implicit response to such a question would, in Gustav Metzger's view, be: "Why is so much time and money spent on manufacturing bombers?"

Painting with acid

But Gustav Metzger is primarily an artist, not a political philosopher; and this became apparent during the second half of his "lecture"—the demonstration. Like a stage-set behind him as he lectured was a large pane of glass slung from the ceiling, with a sheet of nylon stretched behind it. Metzger put on a pair of motor-cycling goggles, took out a paint brush and a pot of acid, and proceeded to "paint" a picture on the sheet of nylon.

The general effect was rather like a conjuring performance. There on a table in front of us were the various objects Metzger had used to illustrate his lecture: small component parts of machines, intricately designed pieces of cardboard and the model of his proposed sculpture made in miniature out of staples. Now we discerned him faintly as he moved about mysteriously behind the nylon screen collecting his materials together, then boldly painting his acid "picture" with vigorous sweeping brush strokes. Anyone who had come in at that moment and not heard the first part of the lecture might have assumed that this was a demonstration of "action painting."

But this painting was only partly a

the ultimate destruction of the object created. He is also concerned with purely aesthetic values, some of them only tenuously linked with the idea of auto-destructive art. For instance, he is very interested in movement, and suggested setting up a sculpture which should comprise several forms that could constantly be moved about so that the viewer saw them standing in a

A. J. MUSTE

This is the second in a series of short profiles of American radicals and pacifists by Douglas Gorsline.

A. J. MUSTE was born in the Netherlands 75 years ago at Zieriksee, in the Province of Zeeland. At the age of six he accompanied his family when they emigrated from their homeland, and settled in Michigan, at Grand Rapids.

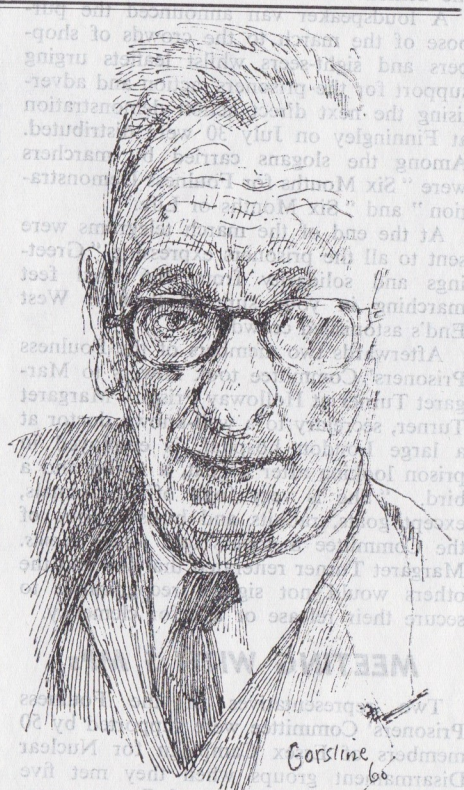
He attended schools there and went to Hope College, a Dutch Reformed institution, and later the Dutch Reformed Seminary. His dedication to theology had always been taken for granted in his family. He soon went on to pastorates in New Jersey and Long Island. He retained pastorates in various places until the First World War, when he resigned in order to prevent the breaking up of his church, near Boston, because of his pacifist views. Since that time he has been actively engaged in striving for the cause in other forums.

Mr. Muste has always been profoundly radical in his attitude in the Christian pacifist struggle, and his life is a record of his single-minded progression along this path. He first was influenced by observation of slum conditions when, as a young pastor, he was exposed to them in New York City. Then, with the First World War, he felt impelled to take a firm stand on the right of a citizen to object conscientiously to war service. The following years were spent in Civil Liberties activities in their behalf.

RECONVERSION

In the Thirties he took a Marxist position in that part of the Party opposed to the Stalinist drift. Mr. Muste took this position because it seemed to him at the time that it represented the nearest approach to some of those principles to which he had devoted his life. However, after leading the losing fight within the Party for these principles, he concluded that this would not be the best medium through which he could accomplish his personal ends. In 1936 he experienced what he calls a

art was always aesthetically satisfying until it finally vanished. So Gustav Metzger is not logical: a self-destructing society should not look beautiful at any stage. But nor is he a nihilist—and this is important. The value of his constructive ideas and positive approach outweigh the failure of logic. Society is all too full today of apathetic and despairing people whose only values are negative.



George Houser, Caleb Foote, James Farmer, A. Philip Randolph, and Bayard Rustin.

Mr. Muste's unique position in the American radical scene cannot be over-emphasised. His devotion to the Christian pacifist conviction has carried him through all the myriad events which tumbled over one another from 1912, when he voted for Eugene V. Debs, through two world wars, reaction, liberalism, states righters, Wobblies, Roosevelt, segregation, integration, the Communist Party, McCarthy, and, perhaps worst of all, Eisenhower. All these pressures and many more seem to have proved the validity of Muste's original convictions.

Today the CP looks enviously at the non-violent movement generally, and at the FoR, the WRL, and CORE in particular, as representing the active radical effort in America. Their members are constantly in action, whether it be the Civil Defence protest, Negro integration, or nuclear pro-

The future of the Left? Read:

Socialism and Nationalisation, Hugh Gaitskell, M.P. 3s. 0d.

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Can Labour Win?, Anthony Crosland, M.P. 2s. 6d.